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GREEK  
HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

*HICKS*

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
LONDON, EDINBURGH  
NEW YORK

A MANUEL



OF

GREEK  
HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

BY

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HON. FELLOW AND SOMETIME FELLOW AND TUTOR OF  
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

G. F. HILL, M.A.

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

*NEW AND REVISED EDITION*

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CAROLO · THOMAE · NEWTON ·

MAGISTRO · DISCIPVLVS ·

AMICVS · AMICO ·

D · D

Ἄλλ' ἴθι νῦν παρὰ χειρὸς ἑμῆς βραχὺ βιβλίον ἤδη,

Ἑλλάδος ἀρχαίας μνημοσύνοισι πρέπον·

ἀντ' εὐεργεσιῶν δέ τάχ' ἄν χάρις εὐχαρις ἔλθοις

ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ, πολλῆς τ' ἀντὶ διδασκαλίας.



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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 17, no. 15 bibliography. *Add* : F. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 1200.

P. 31, no. 25 bibliography. *Add* : R. Meister, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.* 51 (1899), p. 156.

P. 42, ll. 4 and 3 from bottom. *For* 'existing . . . know where,' *read* 'at Colne Park, White Colne, Essex.'

P. 58, l. 9 of commentary. *After* 'the East,' *insert* 'except Kelenderis.'

P. 96, no. 56 bibliography. *Add* : E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* I. no. 44, pp. 41, 47 foll.

P. 120, ll. 1, 2, 3. Dr. Wilhelm states that  $\Delta$  and not  $\triangleleft$  stands clearly on the stone; the sum is therefore 10 drachms in each case.

P. 160 f. no. 80. A. Körte (*Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Athen. Abth.*, xxv. (1900), pp. 392 foll.) regards this as not the psephisma mentioned by Aischines, but a similar one dealing with the *μέτροικοι* and restores the archon's name as [Ξεβαλver]os.

P. 162, ll. 1-5, *for* 'the latter restoration . . . in the next line,' *read* 'Neither restoration is satisfactory; the former because of the apparently absolute use of ἐψηφίσθαι and the construction 'Αθηναίους εἶναι αὐτοῖς, the latter because a second εἶναι appears to be lacking.'



# PREFACE

## TO THE SECOND EDITION

IT is a gratification to know that this *Manual*, first published in 1882, did not fail in its aim of being a contribution, however humble, to that enlightened study of archaeology which has so vastly enriched our acquaintance with the history and literature of Greece and Rome. But the request of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, that I should prepare a revised edition, was not without its embarrassments.

In the first place, the accession of new material, owing to discoveries at Athens, Delos, Delphi, and elsewhere, has been so large, that the volume must have grown beyond due limits had one attempted to cover the whole period embraced in the first edition. It seemed best to omit Parts vi-ix altogether, and close the collection with the death of Alexander. This sacrifice to the demands of space, although justified by an indifference to post-Alexandrine studies too common amongst British scholars, has been a painful one: for it was with Alexander that Greece entered upon her work of hellenizing the world, and Greek history might more truly be said to begin than to end at his death.

In the next place, my own hands had become so full of fresh duties, that I could not venture on the task of revision alone. I was fortunate in finding a collaborateur in Mr. G. F. Hill, whose work at the British Museum had proved him a competent archaeologist, and whose *Sources of Greek History, B. C. 478-431*, won him the thanks of all Greek historical students.

We have omitted a few inscriptions which were included in the first edition, to make room for others either more important or better preserved, viz. Nos. 13, 34, 43, 60, 107, 115, 122, 130 (the date of the last is now usually put later). We have also added a list of Athenian Archons from B. C. 500-321, with the authorities for their names. Some changes in the transliteration of inscriptions are explained in the Notanda.

In the selection of new material we have derived considerable help from the new edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, and from Michel's *Recueil*, two books of the finest scholarship and indispensable to all students of ancient Greece.

We cannot sufficiently express our thanks to Dr. Adolf Wilhelm, who most generously undertook to read the proofs, and by whose advice we have benefited throughout Parts i-iv. The result is partly seen in the improved readings, which are acknowledged as they occur; but in addition he has furnished a great number of references to the literature of the subject, which might otherwise have escaped our notice.

We have further been kindly allowed to see the proof-sheets of the earlier part of vol. ii of Mr. Roberts's *Greek Epigraphy*, which is shortly to be issued by him in collaboration with Prof. E. A. Gardner; so that we have been able to give references to a certain number of the documents included in that volume. Our thanks are also due to Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, for kindly examining some of the stones at Athens.

Other obligations, it is hoped, are acknowledged in the text; nor should we omit to thank the Clarendon Press reader for an accuracy which has saved us much labour.

E. L. HICKS.

June, 1901.

# INTRODUCTION

## TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE history of the Hellenic people, from the days of their struggle with Persia, down to their submission to the Western Conquerors, is a story which can never tire, if only for its wealth of striking and pathetic incidents. But it is the intellectual greatness of the Greeks, and their important influence upon the world, which invests with a peculiar interest everything connected with them. In poetry, in philosophy, in art, they have shaped the thoughts of all succeeding time. And the history of the Greeks, thus unique in its interest, lies open to us in a literature equally original. So rich is their historical literature, that the very brilliance of Herodotos, Thukydides, and Xenophon almost blinds us to the sterling common sense of a Polybios, or the painstaking labours of a Diodoros. Nor do we always remember how much valuable history we owe to the accurate notes of travellers like Strabo and Pausanias. Even the very gossip of Greek political circles survives for us in the jests of Aristophanes, or the anecdotes of Plutarch and Athenaeos.

The literary documents bearing upon Greek history form a very wide field, upon which the labours of many generations of scholars have been spent, with the result of recalling for the modern reader the very colour and movement of ancient Greek life in the pages of Thirlwall, Grote, Curtius, and other great writers. But while the literary data have thus been subjected to the most careful sifting, and have been assuming a more complete and final form, another and supplementary class of documents has been acquiring new prominence. The liberation of Greece, and the increasing facilities

for travel in the Levant, began early in this century to bring to light a larger number of archaeological monuments connected with classical Greece than had ever been known before ; and it suited the scientific temper of the time to turn to these with an instinctive energy for their careful investigation.

To a certain degree any and every object recovered from the ruins of antiquity will help in the illustration of ancient life. But the study of archaeology rises almost to an equality with the study of ancient literature, when we find in a work of art the interpretation of the spirit of a period, or when the excavation of an ancient site unlocks the secret of its history. It is true that the very richness of Greek literary records has deprived the evidence of Greek archaeology of some of its importance. Nevertheless the evidence of Greek coinage has never failed to engage the attention of historians ; and any scholar may see at a glance how intimately Greek politics are illustrated by Greek coinage, by turning over the numismatic manuals lately issued by the British Museum<sup>1</sup>.

With good reason I have reminded the reader of the historical importance of Greek coinage ; for in approaching the study of inscriptions, it will be instructive to compare our work with the work of the numismatist. Now the coin and the inscription have this in common, that both of them are works of art, and both of them also bear a written record. But although the coin usually contains a stamped legend, yet it obviously belongs more to archaeology than to literature. When however we turn to inscriptions, the literary interest is the primary consideration, the archaeological interest stands second. The inscription combines, it is true, some of the interest of a piece of sculpture, together with that of a manuscript. The archaeologist is concerned to note the metal, or the kind of marble employed ; the ornamentation, if any, as an index of the age and the style of art-cultivation ; the size, shape, and

<sup>1</sup> I refer to Mr. Head's *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, 1881, of which four parts have been issued ; *Coinage of Syracuse*, 1874, and *Coinage of Ephesus*, 1880, by the same ; *Coinage of Elis*, 1879, by Professor Gardner.

manner of the lettering, as invaluable marks of the date and locality. But as a literary document the inscription has all the interest of an archetype manuscript: it is an authentic record of the time to which it refers. Whatever amount of information the inscription may convey, be it little or much, its evidence will at least be welcomed with eager curiosity. It is impossible to linger, for example, over those awkward-looking numeral letters in the financial inscriptions of the Periklean time, without a peculiar sense of satisfaction. We are here face to face with state documents which Perikles may have issued, and Thukydides may have read.

Such reflections, however, it may be said, belong merely to the sentiment of the dilettante. What is the real value of Greek inscriptions to the serious student of Greek history? And here I might perhaps regret that my Manual appears at a moment when the greatest of Greek historians has been lately strengthened in his just hold upon English scholars by a translation which will become classical. For Professor Jowett is so engrossed by the genius of his author and by the paramount value of Greek literary records, that he can find little to glean from the duller study of inscriptions. Some may find a pleasure (he says) 'on Greek soil, under the light of the blue heaven, amid the scenes of ancient glory, in reading inscriptions, or putting together fragments of stone or marble.' But 'they add to our knowledge' only 'a few facts.' We must return to the study of the literature of Hellas, 'finding some little pleasure by the way (like that of looking at an autograph) in deciphering the handwriting of her children amid the dust of her ruins<sup>1</sup>.' We may trace in this estimate a lingering echo of that controversy which long continued between the last and greatest representative of the old school of purely literary scholarship, and Augustus Böckh, the founder of the newer school. It seemed impossible for Godfrey Hermann to understand those new methods of study, wherein (so far from Greek literature being dethroned) archaeology

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Jowett, *Thucydides translated*, vol. ii. p. lxxviii.

and literature combine to call to life again the features of classical civilization. But since the time of Böckh, whose patient learning was only equalled by his brilliant generalizations, it has become not so much a maxim as an instinct with scholars to regard archaeology as the handmaid of literature, and to study the life of ancient Hellas as a whole, illustrating it by every light that can be thrown upon it, whether from the genius of her authors, or the witness of her inscriptions, or the progress and decay of her art, or the physical features of the country, or the excavation of ancient sites.

The most devoted students of inscriptions will be the first to urge that too much must not be expected from them. If we leave out of sight the more private inscriptions, and confine ourselves to those which illustrate history, and have a place in this collection, we find that they nearly all consist of decrees of public assemblies, laws, treaties, letters of kings and others, votive offerings, or statements of public accounts, and these all share the usual reserve and formality of official documents. The information they yield is indirect. It is like examining mediaeval charters, or financial state-papers, or the letters and other documents of the Record Office, for the illustration of English history. You must know how to interrogate the documents rightly, in order to get at the information they contain.

We shall express precisely the strength and the weakness of inscriptions as bearing upon history, when we say that they give us almost always just the information we least expected. They supplement, even more than they confirm or illustrate, the writings of ancient historians. For the inscriptions at present discovered are but a few fragments from the wreck of the ancient world. They were originally deposited chiefly in temples or other public buildings, where they might be at once safe and accessible, and these buildings have been long ago destroyed by earthquake or invasion, and their ruins have often for centuries served as convenient quarries for the

successive inhabitants of ancient sites. We need not therefore wonder that though some 4000 Attic tombstones have been read, yet we have hardly ever come upon the epitaph of any historical character. Among the numberless public documents found upon the Akropolis, only now and then do we light upon the names of men known to fame, like Nikias, Alkibiades, Demades. Only occasionally do we meet with documents (such as Nos. 39-60), which a reader of Thukydides would have expected to find. Considering the large extent of colonization in Greece, it is singular that No. 29 is the only known decree upon the subject, and this deals with an almost unheard-of settlement. But it is this unexpectedness which constitutes the chief interest of inscriptions; they afford information which we cannot get elsewhere.

A more serious defect arises from the fact that so few localities in Greece have been at all made to yield up the inscribed monuments which lie buried beneath. On some few sites indeed, chiefly the sites of ancient temples, systematic explorations have been made, as at Delphi, Priene, Olympia, Ephesos, Delos, Dodona. To these may be added the excavations of Mr. Newton at Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Branchidae, those of the Athenian government on the Akropolis or the Great Theatre, and the German excavations at Pergamon. Upon these and other sites inscriptions have been diligently searched for and found. But for the rest, we have to trust to the chance discoveries made in the course of modern building on ancient sites. Thus by far the largest yield has been from those localities which are still in modern times the sites of flourishing towns. Here in the continual course of the demolition of old buildings and the erection of new, large numbers of documents have come to light. Let any one glance at a collection like Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, and see how large a proportion comes from places like Athens, Thessalonika, Smyrna, and Rome, and he will understand how partial and accidental is our present acquaintance with the inscribed monuments of ancient Greece. But small as it

is in comparison with the ancient total, it is sufficiently large to occupy the energies of many students, and to afford valuable results.

It is a serious drawback that the marbles which survive to us are often miserably chipped and broken. The result is that their value often becomes apparent only after a wide and careful study of similar documents<sup>1</sup>. To those whose business it is to edit these inscribed texts, no fragment is without value. A tiny bit of marble in an English collection may just complete some broken slab recently discovered in Greece, so that you cannot pronounce *a priori* any fragment to be unimportant. Those who open a volume of inscriptions for the first time think very differently. They are naturally disappointed at the incompleteness of most documents, and they find a stumbling-block in what appear to be the capricious restorations of the editor. Why should such license of conjecture be allowed in an inscription, when no sound critic would deal so with a manuscript? The answer is twofold. In the first place, the language of inscriptions (especially honorary decrees, treaties, and other kinds) is often formal and stereotyped; the same phrases recur, with very slight variation, from one end of Greece to the other. This sameness and formality of phrasing makes the restoration of many

<sup>1</sup> The following anecdote, which I borrow from the Register of the British Museum, will illustrate my meaning. It relates to a fragment of an Athenian Quota-list of the fifth century B.C., presented to the British Museum in 1863. The fragment is stated to have been originally obtained from the Parthenon by an English traveller, who, afterwards being present at a *scavo* at Pompeii, made use of this opportunity to test the acumen of the Director of the excavations by surreptitiously introducing into the soil then under examination this fragment from Athens. This having been done, a lady whom the traveller brought with him as an accomplice pretended to discover the fragment accidentally, while the excavation was going on, and handed it to Cavalier Fiorelli. He immediately detected the trick, and declared that the fragment must be of Athenian origin, and from the Parthenon itself. The gentleman confessed his trick, and the fragment was presented to the British Museum in 1863. I am informed by Dr. Adolf Wilhelm that the piece must have been broken away from fragment 31 of the great stèle containing the first fifteen quota-lists (*C. I. A. I.* 231-240).



inscriptions an easy matter. And secondly, where the general sense of a fragment is tolerably clear, it is allowable to supply by way of suggestion a few words that may help the reader to follow the probable sequence of syntax and meaning. In such cases the editor is bound to point out that no certainty attaches to the verbal restorations suggested: they are only to serve as a convenient commentary.

The growing amount of materials has called into existence a school of students, with Augustus Böckh as their founder, whose task it is to collate, edit, and arrange the ancient texts; and further, to gather from the edited texts the historical and other results of their studies. Böckh's *Political Economy of Athens*, well known in England through its translation by Sir G. C. Lewis, was an early and a signal example of this kind of study. A similar value belongs to Köhler's *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, Dumont's *L'Éphébie Attique*, Foucart's *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Lüders' *Die dionysischen Künstler*, and many others, some of which are enumerated at the end of this Introduction. Neither could such manuals as the *Griechische Alterthümer* of K. F. Hermann, or of G. F. Schömann, have been written, but for that study of inscriptions to which Schömann especially was devoted.

It is from works like these that we can best appreciate the benefits conferred upon Greek studies by the discovery of inscriptions. But the reader of such a book as Curtius' *History of Greece* will not unfrequently have been reminded of the epigraphical *pièces justificatives* available for the illustration of Greek history. And Mr. Capes, in his lectures on *University Life in ancient Athens*, has shown that the curious information afforded by inscriptions is sometimes entertaining; although anything more dreary than the original documents upon which Dumont and Dittenberger had based their descriptions, I cannot conceive.

In the present volume it seemed best, with the consent of the Delegates of the Press, to confine myself to documents

directly illustrating history only. Of course a very large number of Greek inscriptions relate to religious ceremonies, agonistic contests, and concerns of private life; or have to do with legal and constitutional antiquities rather than with historical events. If it is thought desirable, another volume embracing these classes of documents could easily be prepared, which would probably exceed the present volume in interest, inasmuch as the subjects it would illustrate are less familiar to the readers of Greek literature.

This volume therefore contains only *Historical* inscriptions. And in presenting these to the reader, I have denied myself the pleasure of enlarging upon the archaeology of the subject. Thus I have been content to print the texts (with three exceptions<sup>1</sup>) in cursive only, without trying to represent the originals in facsimile, or in various alphabets of uncial type. For the original appearance of the marble concerns rather the professed epigraphist than the historical student, to whom the inscription is merely one more historical document. At the same time, no pains have been spared to secure the accuracy of the texts. Whenever the original was out of my reach, the copies only of the most recent and most careful editors have been followed. Sometimes I have had access to unpublished copies or impressions, through the kindness of friends. Nearly all of my texts have been edited before; nevertheless, whenever possible, I have verified the published texts by a reference to the marbles. The result is, that whenever my texts differ from the copies already published, it is because I have to offer a better and completer text. Whenever the size of the page allowed it, the lines of text are printed just as they stand on the marble, so as the better to show at a glance what portions of the stone are mutilated. When the text is printed consecutively, as in ordinary Greek prose, the original division of the lines is marked by vertical strokes (*e. g.* τοῦ|το).

In the notes and explanations nothing has been admitted which did not strictly belong to the matter in hand. Words,

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 27, 52, 119.

however curious, which have found a place in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, are passed over without remark. And legal and constitutional terms are not dwelt upon, when any reader can refer for explanation to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, or Pauly's *Real-encyclopädie*, or the admirable works of Schömann, *Antiquitates Juris publici Graecorum* and *Griechische Alterthümer*. Nothing, again, is more valuable to the student of Greek Dialects than the evidence of inscriptions—a subject which has been already dealt with in H. L. Ahrens' *De dialectis*, in Cauer's *Delectus*, and other works. Now, although many of my texts suggest points of dialectical and grammatical interest, these points will receive very little comment, since this selection was made with a very different purpose, and it was desirable to avoid wordiness.

There is an impression of unfamiliarity and strangeness about the style and expression of inscriptions, and there are many scholars to whom they are an unknown and uninviting region. I am, however, sufficiently sanguine to hope that this Manual may be the means of bringing some students face to face with the original marbles. Any one who has worked much at these will readily echo the confession of Böckh: 'However dry may seem the task of tracing the worn or broken characters upon the cold surface of the stone, yet the existing books on this subject sufficiently prove what a genuine enthusiasm many have felt for these time-honoured monuments of ancient civilization,—and I frankly own myself of their number<sup>1</sup>.' With this hope, I have been glad, whenever it was possible, to include in this selection any monuments which are close at hand, either in the Ashmolean and the Marble Room at Oxford, or in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, or are almost equally accessible to the English student in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. The Oxford reader *e.g.* is invited to work out carefully the printed texts, the originals of which

<sup>1</sup> *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, ii. p. 1.

are in the University Collection. If he will then, book in hand, consult the marbles word by word, he will in a few hours have learned more about Greek inscriptions than any written account could have taught him. If he wishes to proceed further into the subject, the best introduction is Franz's *Elementa Epigraphices Graecae*<sup>1</sup>.

An editor of inscriptions who desires to conciliate his reader's goodwill, must chiefly rely upon orderly arrangement of his materials—*lucidus ordo*. The arrangement of this volume is strictly *chronological*; and a date, more or less precise, is assigned to each document. The date of inscriptions has, in most cases, to be determined by internal and circumstantial evidence, the style of the characters being a principal indication. Neither is it always easy to connect an inscribed decree or treaty with known historical events. Though I do not share the scepticism of Professor Jowett, I hope I have used due caution, and have endeavoured in every case to draw a distinct line between what is fairly certain and what is as yet unverified hypothesis. The reader is throughout referred in the notes to sources where he will find the date and other details concerning the inscriptions fully reasoned out.

The divisions of the work follow the obvious periods into which Greek history seems to fall. It will be seen that the documents from Athens alone outnumber those from all the rest of Greece. This is partly owing to the greater historical importance of Attic inscriptions, requiring a larger proportion to be therefore included in an historical collection. But it is also true that no Greek government was so careful in inscribing<sup>2</sup> its public records as the Athenian; and moreover at Athens far more has been done than elsewhere in the way of excavation and the discovery of ancient monuments. It will be also noticed how at Athens (as elsewhere) the inscribed

<sup>1</sup> I may be allowed also to refer to an article on *Inscriptions (Greek)* in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Αναγράφαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην.

records became more numerous, and also more intolerably wordy, the later we proceed in the history. I have therefore spared the reader's patience by admitting very few of these later verbose decrees. Specimens, however, are given of various kinds, and examples have been selected as far as could be from every part of Greece. It is perhaps tedious and disappointing to examine the many hundreds of commonplace honorary decrees which are being turned up in every ancient site in Greece proper, in the islands, and in the Thrakian and Asiatic colonies. And yet even these have a value. It is a fact of immense interest to the historical student to recognize the general resemblance of the formulas in which are cast the records of all the Greek-speaking race, from the time of Perikles onward. We are accustomed to dwell upon the isolation which prevailed among the Greek cities. We note how seas and mountains and diversities of race kept the Greeks asunder. The strange fact is that they should have been so sundered. For in truth the most rigid separation existed side by side with the closest resemblance and general unity. Their most divergent dialects were yet mutually intelligible. Their games, their religious centres, were bonds of unity. And though throughout the whole of that wide area every little town was a separate centre of corporate life, though the titles of their magistrates, and the names of their political and social institutions might differ, yet the type of civil government everywhere developed was the same with insignificant variations; or, if you looked more closely, you found but two types, the democratic and the oligarchic, and these admitted of very slight modifications.

It would have been possible to prolong the selection down to the times of Byzantine history. But it is evident that the political history of Greece as such comes to an end with the Roman Conquest. Accordingly, only a few documents have been included after the 'Liberation' decreed by Flamininus, B.C. 196. As we proceed later, although the Greek people still retained their own peculiar character, and their national

existence was unaffected by conquest, yet their historical documents became less and less important; the centre of things has shifted to Rome. What the interests of the Greeks were under the Empire, can be read in the Orations (far from uninteresting) of Aristides or Dion Chrysostom. We need by no means endorse the slighting estimate of the Greeks given by Tacitus and Juvenal. It was impossible for the Romans to do justice to the Greeks; they inevitably came into contact with them at their worst. Although their historical inscriptions are of little interest after the Roman Conquest, yet some of the most valuable inscriptions relating to the religious customs and other more private institutions of Hellas belong to these later days. The Greek religion, and all that gathered round it, still survived: and the very absence of great political interests will alone account, not only for the exuberance of later Greek rhetoric, but also for that excessive and universal growth of agonistic contests and religious festivals which marked the days of Greek subjection.

I have kept closer to Grote than to Curtius in the preparation of the volume. It did not suit the design of the great German historian to discuss fully at every step the grounds of his conclusions, and give the evidence on which they rest. Although in his later volumes his references to documents become more frequent, yet it is clear that Curtius feels himself to be writing *πρὸς εἰδότας*,—he is giving a brilliant representation of Greek national life, as the outcome of varied researches in which he himself has borne a distinguished part, and in which Böckh, Schömann, Kirchhoff, and Köhler may be taken as representative names. For most English students Grote's History is of paramount value. True that only in his later volumes does Grote awake to the importance of epigraphical evidence, and then he only cites it cautiously and at second hand. But from first to last the reader is brought face to face with the existing literary evidence. Herodotos, Thukydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, acquire life and voice, and are made to tell us their own tale

of what they themselves had seen and heard. Not only in its human and political interest does Grote's work possess a fascination for the reader, but it is a valuable intellectual discipline to be shown at every step the processes of historical enquiry, and to be made by the great historian not only a listener to his story, but a sharer in his investigations. There is therefore this practical reason for citing Grote so often in this volume, that the reader will there find all the references to ancient historians which bear upon the events under discussion. Worthy to compare with Grote for his patient sifting of ancient texts, comparable to Curtius in his archaeological learning, is Droysen, who, in the last edition of his *Hellenismus*, has given a picture of Alexander's career, and of the terrible convulsions which followed his death. Certainly he has infused a new life and interest into a period which is of deep importance to the world's history, although most of us are repelled from it by the ghastly monotony of bloodshed and despotism, or are only attracted by a biographical rather than a historical interest.

Besides a continual reference to these principal modern historians, the reader will be in every instance informed where to find the various documents best edited and discussed. Since the publication of Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, great numbers of inscriptions have been discovered; and an attempt has been made to edit a complete collection of those from Attika in Kirchhoff's *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, three volumes of which have appeared. But for the inscriptions from other parts of Greece, and for many of the Attic ones also, you have to search up and down the volumes of the *Archäologische Zeitung*, the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, and the various German, French, and Greek periodicals; not to mention the numerous dissertations which issue from the foreign Universities. I have endeavoured to glean from all of these the most interesting results of epigraphical studies; but much may have been overlooked. The task did not allow much room for origin-

ality; but the views of others have not been adopted without weighing them, and where possible some improvement has been added.

The wants of English readers have been steadily kept in view,—readers such as are to be found in growing numbers especially among the students of our Universities, who are well acquainted with Greek literature, and with the best modern writers upon classical civilization, who have perhaps visited Greece and the Levant, and have conceived a lively interest in classical archaeology. To such readers this volume is commended, as a humble attempt to further Hellenic studies. Perhaps some may wish the collection were more complete and comprehensive. At first I had thought of collecting into one chapter *all* the inscribed letters of kings, into another *all* inscribed laws, into another *all* known treaties, &c. But if that had been done, this volume would have assumed a very different shape, and would have included a great deal that is of little value. And, in fact, such an exhaustive collection of various kinds of documents did not fall within the scope of the book. Neither have I included the famous *Parian Chronicle* (*C. I. G.* 2374). For valuable as it is to the chronologer, we must not forget that it is merely a private document drawn up about the third century B. C., probably by some schoolmaster for the instruction of his pupils. It was with more regret that I forebore to include the whole series of *Quota-lists* from B. C. 454 to 420. But the fact is that however important these documents are (being no less than authentic lists of the Athenian Confederation), yet it is certain that all who wish to study them to advantage must go straight to Köhler's *Urkunden* (or to Böckh's *Staatshaus-haltung*, vol. ii), where not only the texts are exhibited at large, but all sorts of questions arising out of the texts are fully discussed. It would have done the reader little service to present him with the complete series of texts, without reproducing also a great part of Böckh's and Köhler's remarks. It seemed wiser therefore to insert four or five especially inter-



esting specimens of the series, with suitable notes; and to refer the reader to previous writers for further information. For similar reasons I have not made any selections from the Athenian admiralty records, which occupy the third volume of Böckh's *Staatshaushaltung*.

I have received help from so many friends in the course of the work, that I must be content to make this general but not less sincere acknowledgment of their kindness. For the book, as it stands, I am alone responsible. I have endeavoured to be accurate; and those who have worked at such subjects the most will be the kindest critics of a task wherein the countless points of detail afford as many opportunities of error.

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## NOTANDA

### The Printing of the Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets enclose letters which are supposed to have stood formerly on the original and are supplied by conjecture: e.g. ΕΔΟΧΣΕΝΤΕ ΟΛΕΙ| *ἔδοχσεν τῇ*[ι β]ουλῇ.

( ) Curved brackets enclose:

1. Letters supposed to have been wrongly omitted by the stone-cutter: e.g. ΜΕΓΑΚΕΟΥΣ *Μεγακ(λ)έους*.

2. Letters supposed to have been misrepresented by the stone-cutter: e.g. ΟΤΔΟΗ| *δ(γ)δότη*.

3. Letters completing an abbreviation: e.g. ΔΡΑΗΗΗΗ| *δρα(χμίων)* ΗΗΗ|.

< > Angular brackets enclose letters supposed to have been superfluously written by the stone-cutter: e.g. ΚΑΙΕΓΕΝΟΣ *καὶ* <ε> *γένος*. Note that the epigraphic usage in this point differs from that of textual criticism.

| Marks the beginning of a new line on the stone.

|| Every fifth new line. In most cases in the present volume the divisions of the original are followed in the text, so that the use of these signs is unnecessary.

. . . . Dots represent each a single letter for which there is space on the originals, but of which no restoration is attempted. The distinction between a single dot of this kind and a full-stop must be left to the sense.

- - - Dashes represent a lacuna of which the extent is uncertain.

### Alphabets.

A cursive text fails to give any idea of the appearance of the original. Apart from the slightly varying forms of letters such as Α, Ἀ, Σ, Σ, which may furnish valuable indications of date, there are, to take only the alphabet of Attic inscriptions, certain important distinctions of spelling which must be briefly noted here. In B. C. 403 (the archonship of Eukleides) Athens first officially adopted the Ionic (Milesian) alphabet, although even in official documents we occasionally find it used, either in some of its forms, or systematically, as early as the middle of the fifth century. Up till the archonship of Eukleides,

however, the regular Attic alphabet preserves the following as its most important peculiarities:

Λ	represents	γ
Ε	„	ε, η or ει
Η	„	the rough breathing
Λ	„	λ
+Σ (ΧΣ, +Σ, ΧΣ)	represents	ξ
Ο	represents	ο, ω or ου
ΦΣ (ΦΣ)	represents	ψ.

The diphthongs ει and ου are however often written in full, especially when they do not result from contraction; thus ΤΟΥΤΟ may stand for τούτου or τουτο. But there is considerable irregularity in practice, and Ο continues to represent ου for some time after the Eukleidean reform.

The method adopted in many modern epigraphic works, of using ε and ο wherever and with whatever value Ε and Ο appear on the original, has much to recommend it. We have not adopted it, out of deference to the traditions of English education, to which writings like θετών και ζευγιστών for θητών και ζευγιστών appear to be offensive. But χσ and φσ have invariably been used where the double letters on the original stand as indicated above. As regards the rough breathing, various courses were available:

1. To ignore its presence or absence, spelling the word in its usual literary form, and writing ἡμερῶν whether the original has ΗΜΕΡΟΝ or ΕΜΕΡΟΝ or ΗΜΕΡΩΝ;
2. To represent these three forms by ἡμερῶν, ημερῶν (or ἡμερῶν) and ἡμερῶν respectively (the position of the sign to the left of the vowel in the first showing that it represents a distinct letter in the original);
3. To adopt a new sign. Most editors in this case employ a Latin h. It has seemed more in keeping with the rest of the fount to use the form <sup>h</sup>, which is recommended by the fact that it actually recalls one of the forms used for the aspirate in some Greek alphabets and by the Alexandrian grammarians. In this volume therefore, <sup>h</sup> implies that Η or some such form is used on the stone for the aspirate, <sup>h</sup> that it is omitted, either by the stone-cutter's mistake, or because it is foreign to the alphabet. Of the three forms given above the first will therefore appear as ἡμερῶν, the two others as ἡμερῶν.

For further peculiarities of alphabets, which must not detain us here, the student should consult A. Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* or Roberts' *Greek Epigraphy*.

### Spelling.

Many peculiarities of spelling will confront the beginner. Perhaps the most disturbing is the tendency to represent doubled consonants by single ones, which is characteristic of many early inscriptions: ἀλογλώσσους

weighed normally 134.57 grs. troy (our sovereign weighs 123.27 grs. troy). The Kyzikene stater of electrum (a mixture of gold and silver in somewhat fluctuating proportions) weighed normally about 252 grs. troy; its value in terms of silver is uncertain.

### The Athenian Civil Year.

The Athenian civil year began on 1st Hekatombaion (July), and most of the officials took office on this date. But the treasurers of Athena and the 'Other Gods,' the Hellenotamiai, and some others, entered on office at the Panathenaia (28th Hekatombaion). The Athenians reckoned the Olympian year from the same date as their own civil year. Thus the year B. C. comprises the last six months of one archonship and year of the Olympiad, and the first six months of the next. (See the list of archons, pp. 314 foll.)

### Council and Assembly.

The Attic year, so far as the βουλή was concerned, was divided into ten periods (πρυτανείαι) of 35 or 36 days each. Each tribe 'prytanized' in turn (ἐπρυτάνευε) in an order determined by lot, in the person of its 50 βουλευταί. These 50 πρυτάνεις during their term lived in the πρυτανεῖον and acted as the 'Government' or Cabinet for the time being. The addition of two tribes in B. C. 307 made the cycle of prytanies coincide with the twelve months. The president (ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων) was appointed by lot for one day and night. In the fifth century he presided in the Ekklesia as well as in the Council. But soon after the archonship of Eukleides it became the rule for the ἐπιστάτης of the πρυτάνεις to appoint by lot a πρόεδρος out of each of the tribal sections of the βουλή excepting the φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα. Among these nine πρόεδροι one was further appointed ἐπιστάτης, and thus to the πρόεδροι and their foreman were transferred the duties of presiding in the sittings of the βουλή and ἐκκλησία. The πρυτάνεις and their ἐπιστάτης retained only their more formal duties, such as the custody of the public seal, and the performance of the periodical sacrifices of the βουλή. At the meetings of the Ekklesia, all business was introduced by the Council, who drew up a προβούλευμα which was laid before the Assembly by one of their members. This προβούλευμα either contained a definite proposal, or asked the Ekklesia to decide independently. The chief secretary to the Council, until some time between B. C. 368-7 and 363-2, only held office for one Prytany; afterwards he was appointed for a whole year. For further details as to these subjects see especially Gilbert, *Greek Const. Ant.* (Eng. trans.), pp. 268 ff., 291 ff.



# A MANUAL

OF

## GREEK HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

### PART I

\*  
BEFORE THE PERSIAN WAR

B.C. 700-490.

THE date of the introduction of writing among the Greeks has been a matter of keen controversy, especially from the time of Wolff. Thanks chiefly to the discoveries of Mr. A. J. Evans, we know that long before the introduction of what was to become the Greek alphabet, the inhabitants of the Islands were in possession of a system of writing. This however does not seem to have had any influence on the future development of the art among the Greeks, who, so far as the historic period is concerned, must still be regarded as the debtors of the Phoenicians. It is now generally admitted that the Greeks had learned the art of writing from this great commercial people not later than the ninth century, and probably as much as three centuries earlier (see Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, Vol. I, pp. 496 foll.). For a long time however it would only be employed for such limited and private uses as the writing of names on lots (κληροί). Probably its more extended use began in the temples, where inscribed offerings (ἀναθήματα) and registers of priests and of sacrifices existed at an early date. The first public use of writing was perhaps in making official record of agreements between allied cities; and then by degrees it came to be generally employed for public documents. It is likely that the Greeks did not begin

to inscribe upon marble until they had experimented with the use of writing on leaves, clay, metal, wood, and other substances. Certainly the cramped and awkward characters of the earliest extant inscriptions prove that writing must have been an unfamiliar art in Greece as late as the seventh century.

The earliest recorded example of an inscribed offering is the Quoit of Iphitos, thus described by Pausanias (v. 20. 1; cp. 4. 4; Plut. *Lycourg.* 1): ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα (in the Heraion at Olympia) καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα . . . καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος . . . ὁ δὲ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἕλαιοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλῳ σχῆμα περιείσιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα. It contained the formula for proclaiming the sacred armistice; Iphitos, with Lykurgos, being named upon it as the founder of the Olympian Festival. There is no reason to suspect this of being a late forgery; but it is very doubtful whether it was inscribed before the first Olympiad (B. C. 776), the date at which the definite chronology of Greece is supposed to begin; and there are even grave doubts as to the authenticity of the early Olympian register (Mahaffy in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, pp. 164 foll.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 586). The Theban inscriptions which impressed Herodotos with their antiquity (v. 58 foll.) can hardly be earlier than the seventh century (Bergk, *Gr. Literaturgesch.* i. p. 205). And to this century at the earliest belong the oldest extant inscriptions from Thera and Krete (Roberts, *Introd. to Greek Epigr.* i. pp. 31, 52).

Of the other kind of sacred inscriptions, the temple-registers, or ἀναγραφαί, no original specimen has survived. They are often mentioned by ancient writers, though it is doubtful how many were really of high antiquity (see Böckh, *C. I. G.* i. p. 63; A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, iv. p. 292; Müller, *Dorians*, Eng. Tr. i. p. 149; Comm. on Thuk. ii. 2; and Preller, *de Hellenico* in his *Ausgew. Aufsätze*, p. 51, on the register of the Argive priestesses). But a very interesting transcript exists of one such register, in an inscription from Halikarnassos (*C. I. G.* 2655; Michel, *Recueil*, 877; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 608), the opening of which is thus restored by Böckh:

[Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (*or the like*), εἰπόντος τοῦ δέινος  
 τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέους· μεταγράψαι [ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας  
 στήλης τῆς παρεστῶσης τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοῖς  
 τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ (Ἰ)σθμίου τοὺς γεγ[ενημένους]  
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος ἱερεῖς τοῦ Πο[σειδῶ]-  
 νος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆν ἀποικί[αν ἐκ]  
 Τροι[ζ]ῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.

Then follows a list of the priests, beginning with 'Telamon son of Poseidon' and other mythical names, but of course comprising also the true names and succession of historical priests. Böckh imagines this transcript to have been made not earlier than the second century B. C. But the ancient original he assumes to have been inscribed about the time of the latest recorded priest, i. e. probably 691 B. C. The data however are not to be implicitly trusted.

# 1 [1].

## Early struggles between Megara and Korinth, B. C. 720.

From Megara; now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Böckh, *C. I. G.* 1050; *Kleine Schriften*, iv. p. 173; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 52; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 843.

Ὅρρίππῳ Μεγαρήs με δαίφρονι τῇδε ἀρίδῃλῳ  
 μνᾶμα θέσαν, φάμα Δελφίδι πειθόμενοι·  
 5 δs δὴ μακίστους μὲν ὕρους ἀπελύσατο πάτρα  
 πολλὰν δυσμενέων γᾶν ἀποτεμνομένων,  
 5 πρῶτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπία ἐστεφανώθη  
 γυμνός, ζωννυμένων τῶν πρὶν ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.

Epitaph on Orsippus, who won the foot-race at Olympia B. C. 720 (Ol. 15), and freed the Megarid from the encroachments of the Korinthians: composed perhaps by Simonides (B. C. 556-467 B. C.), when this tomb was erected by command of the oracle. The present inscription is not older than the time of Hadrian, but is clearly a copy of the old inscription, then wearing out. Pausanias (i. 44. 1) appears to have seen the original epitaph: Κοροῖβου δὲ τέθαιπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, δs περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δῆ τι παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν

ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων. See Frazer *ad loc.*, and cp. Scholiast and Comm. on Thuk. i. 6; Grote, pt. 2, ch. 9.

## 2 [2].

## Early naval power of Korkyra, B. C. 600, or earlier.

Epitaph from Korkyra in memory of Arniadas, who had died in battle in the Ambrakian gulf. Βουστροφηδόν. Ross, *Archäol. Aufsätze*, ii. Taf. 21, 22; Vischer, *Rh. Mus.* ix. 383; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3189; Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 180; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 343, *Imagines* (1898), p. 74; Roberts, no. 99; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 47; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* iii (1), 868; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 105.

Σᾶμα τόδε Ἀρνιάδα· χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὤλε|σεν Ἄρης  
βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσ|ιν ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ρ' οὐφαῖσι,  
πολλὰ δ' | ν ἀριστεύ(τ)οντα κατὰ στονόφεσαν ἀνύταν.

This could hardly be the 'earliest known sea-fight' recorded by Thukydides as having taken place B. C. 664 (i. 13); it appears to have rather been a fight on shore, at the mouth of the Arachthos. But the fight was very probably between Korkyraians and Corinthians; both Herodotos (iii. 49) and Thukydides (i. 25) mention the early struggle between Korkyra and her mother-city for the supremacy by sea, and for the monopoly of trade with the inhabitants of Epeiros and Illyris; cp. Grote, pt. 2, ch. 23.

## 3 [3].

## Psammetichos II and his Greek mercenaries, B. C. 584-589.

On the legs of one of the colossal statues before the great temple of Abusimbel in Nubia. *C. I. G.* 5126; Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypt. u. Aethiop.* xii. Abth. vi. Bl. 99, Gr. 531, also 534, 536 and Bl. 98, Gr. 515-519, 528-530; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 37 foll.; Blass, *Hermes*, xiii. 381; Wiedemann, *Rhein. Mus.* 1880, pp. 364 foll.; E. Abel, *Wiener Studien*, 1881, pp. 161 foll.; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 482, *Imagines* (1898), pp. 47, 48; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i<sup>2</sup>. 477; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 153, 155; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. pp. 49 (no. 104), 54 (no. 112); B. Keil, *Hermes*, 1894, pp. 268 foll.

(α) Βασιλέος ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίαν Ψαματίχου,  
ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοὶ σὺν Ψαματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλ(έ)ος  
ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, υἱς ὁ ποταμὸς

- ἀνίη, ἀλογλῶσους δ' ἦχε Ποτασιμῶ, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ἀμασις.  
 5 ἔγραφε δ' ἀμὲ Ἀρχων Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πέλεκος Οὐδάμουν.  
 (b) Ἐλεσίβυς ὁ Τήϊος.  
 (c) Τήλεφός μ' ἔγραφε ὁ Ἰαλύσιο[s - - -]  
 (d) Πύθων Ἀμοιβίχ[ου].  
 (e) Πάβις ὁ Οῤολοφώνιος - - σὺν Ψαμματ[ίχῳ].  
 (f) Ἀγέσερμ[ο].  
 (g) Πασιρων ὁ Ἴππου (οἱ ἵππο-).  
 (h) Κρίθις ἔγρα(φε)ν.  
 (i) Ὀμγυσόβ(?) ὅκα βασιλεὺς ἤελασε τὸν στρατὸν [τ]ὸ πρᾶτο[ν  
 - - - ἀμ]α Ψαματίχῳ[ι ἦλθον].

The last is βουστροφηδόν.

It has been much doubted whether the king mentioned in (a) is Psammetichos I (B. C. 654-617), or Psammetichos II (called Psammis by Herodotos, but Psamatik in Egyptian monuments), who reigned B. C. 594-589. We follow A. Wiedemann (*Rh. Mus.* l. c.) in adopting the later date. It appears that certain Greek and other soldiers in the service of the Egyptian king had marched with him as far south as Elephantine. Here they took boats and explored the river *vīs* (= *quos*) ὁ π. ἀνίη, 'as far as it let them go up,' i. e. up to the second cataract. On their way back they wrote their names at Abusimbel, in memory of the exploit. Κέρκιος seems to be intended for Κέρτιος, *Kerti* in the Egyptian texts signifying the surface of water which broadens from the first cataract as far as Elephantine. In (a) we may take 'Psamatichos son of Theokles' to be the son of a Greek mercenary of Psammetichos I (Herod. ii. 152), who named his son after his master. The Ionian or Karian mercenaries whom Ποτασιμῶ commanded are called ἀλλόγλωσσοι in opposition to the Egyptians (cf. Herodotos ii. 154: *πρῶτοι οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν*). The commandant's name is Egyptian (see Krall, *Wiener Studien*, 1881, p. 164). (b) Ἐλεσίβυς for Ἐλεσίβιος (Hoffmann prefers Ἠγησίβυς for Ἠγησίβουλος). (e) Πά(μ)βις for Πάμβιος. (g) Πασιρων is perhaps a mis-writing for Πασιφών. In (i) the long vowel of ἤλασε is expressed by -η and ε combined.

## 4.

**Salamis acquired by the Athenians, B. C. 570-560.**

Six fragments of a stelè, inscribed so that the lines read vertically downward; the block narrowed gradually towards the upper end. Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ix (1884), pp. 117 foll.; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), pp. 57 and 164, no. 1 a; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), pp. 1 foll.; Gomperz, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiii (1888), pp. 137 foll.; Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1888, pp. 117, 118; Gomperz, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xii (1888), pp. 61 foll.; Lipsius, *Leipziger Studien*, xii. p. 221; B. Keil, *Hermes*, 1894, p. 17; A. Wilhelm, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiii (1898), pp. 466 foll. (with photographic facsimile, pl. x, and full references); Judeich, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiv (1899), pp. 321 foll.; Roberts-Gardner, ii. no. 1. Lines 1-6 are στοιχηδόν.

- § 1. Ἐδοχσεν τῷι δῆμῳι [τὸν ἐ' Σα]λα[μῖνι κατοικοῦντα]  
οἰκεῖν ἐὰν Σαλαμῖνι [καὶ πο]λεῖν, [παρὰ δὲ Ἰ]Αθηναῖοι]-  
σι τε[λ]εῖν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι: § 2. τ[ὸν ἑ]αυτοῦ χῶρον μ]-  
ῆ μ[ε]σθ[οῦν]. ἐὰ μὴ οἰκ[ῆ]ι ἐκεῖ<sup>†</sup>ο [κάτοικος τὸν χῶρο]-  
5 ν δὲ [μ]ισθοῖ, ἀποτί[νειν τὸ μισθούμενόν τε καὶ τὸ μ]-  
ισθοῦντα ἑκάτε[ρον τὸ τετραπλάσιον τοῦ μισθοῦ]  
ἐς δ[ι]μήσιο[ν, ἐσπράτειν δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖ ἄ]-  
ρχο[ν]τα· ἐὰν [ἀμελῇ, α]ῖ[τ]ὸν ὀφείλειν: § 3. τ]-  
ὰ δὲ [ῥ]όπλα π[α]ρέχ[εσθ]α[ι ἢ καταθεῖναι: τ]-  
10 ριά[κ]ουτα: δρ[αχμὰς] ἑ[ξ] ἂν θέλῃ, ἀπὸ τούτῳ]-  
ν δὲ [τ]ὸν ἀρχο[ν]τα τὰ ῥόπλα αὐτῷι παρέχ]-  
εῖν: [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς β[ουλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ - - -

A thoroughly satisfactory restoration of this important inscription will doubtless never be made; but enough remains to show that this, the oldest extant decree of the Athenian people, relates to the settlement of the affairs of Salamis at some time in the sixth century B. C. The phrase οἰκεῖν ἐὰν and the formula παρ' ἸΑθηναῖοισι τε[λ]εῖν καὶ στρατ[εύεσθ]αι make it almost certain that we have not to do with a kleruchy, since in that case we should expect merely the command οἰκεῖν, while the formula as to taxation and military service is not applicable to Athenian citizens. Wilhelm's suggestion, adopted by Judeich, that the persons concerned are the old population of Salamis who are left in possession of at least a part of their lands, seems to be suitable to the text. (The phrase ἐὰν οἰκεῖν applied to kleruchs would mean merely

‘permission to reside’; applied to inhabitants already there it would mean more, and would be quite compatible with the compulsory residence for which the regulation is given in § 2.) The restorations given in the text are those adopted or for the first time suggested by Judeich, who however prefers *κληρον* to *χωρον* in lines 3 and 4. His suggestion *πολεῖν* in l. 2 must be taken in the most general sense of the word, i. e. to live in a place. In the great uncertainty which attaches to these restorations, we can only say that the decree regulates (§ 2) the tenure of land in Salamis by the old inhabitants; forbidding them to let their land on pain of a fine; and (§ 3) the arrangements for military service with the Athenian army.

Such a regulation of the affairs of Salamis as we have here, whatever may be the true restoration of the details, must have been effected at the time of the Athenian acquisition of the island in the first half of the sixth century. Sparta decided in favour of the Athenian claim, probably after the seizure of Nisaia by Peisistratos about 570. See Judeich, *op. cit.* p. 333, note 1; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, note 2.

## 5 [4].

### Kroisos and his gifts to the Ephesian Temple: about B. C. 550.

On five fragments of moulding (*torus*) from the bases of columns found by Mr. Wood in excavating the temple of Artemis at Ephesos: they manifestly belong to the old temple burnt down by Herostratos. They are now in the British Museum, where one of the columns is restored (*Catal. of Archaic Greek Sculpture*, no. 29; *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* x. pl. 3; Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* i. p. 180; *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 518). See Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 493; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 1; Michel, *Recueil*, 1210; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 21, 22.

(a) [Βασιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκ]εν.

(b) Βα[σιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκεν].

(c) [. . . . . ἀνέθηκ]εν.

The restored readings are highly probable. Herodotos says (i. 92): Κροῖσος δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ . . . ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ, αἳ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιδόνων αἱ πολλαί.

## 6 [5].

## The age of the Tyrants, sixth century B. C.

From the ruins of the temple of Apollo at Branchidai ('on a fragment in the wall of a house on the Sacred Way'). *Βουστροφηδόν*. Newton, *Discoveries at Cnidus, Halicarnassus, &c.*, p. 787, No. 72 a; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 490; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 97; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 58, no. 123; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 17.

Ἰστιαῖος | ἀνέθ]ηκε τῷ πόλλω[νι.

This inscription is from the base of some offering dedicated at Didyma, perhaps by the famous tyrant of Miletos. Grote, pt. 2, ch. 34.

## 7 [6].

## The age of the Tyrants, sixth century B. C.

On the front of the chair of one of the seated figures from the Sacred Way at Branchidai. *Βουστροφηδόν*. In the British Museum: *Catal. of Archaic Greek Sculpture*, no. 14; Hirschfeld, *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* no. 933; Newton, *Discoveries, &c.*, 784, pl. xevii; Collignon, *Sculpt. Gr.* i. fig. 77; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 19; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 488; *Imagines* (1898), p. 49; Roberts, p. 163; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 98; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 57, no. 121; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 749; Michel, *Recueil*, 1208; Facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society, i. pl. 76.

Χάρης εἰμὶ ὁ Κλείσιος, Τειχιούσης ἀρχός,  
ἀ(γ)αλ(μ)α τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

We may take Chares to have been one of the many 'tyrants' who flourished in the Greek cities of Asia under the Persian rule between 550 and 500 B.C. At a later date Teichiussa was a dependency of Miletos. The statue was intended as a portrait of Chares; ἀγαλμα is 'an offering in honour of' the god (see Böckh, *C. I. G.* vol. i. p. 7).

## 8 [7].

## The age of the Tyrants, sixth century B.C.

The famous Sigeian inscription; in the British Museum. Inscribed *Βουστροφηδόν*. On a pillar 7 ft. 7½ in. high, 1 ft. 7¾ in. wide at foot, 1 ft. 6¾ in. at top, 10½ in. thick. Böckh considered it an 'archaizing' forgery of the age of the Ptolemies: but its genuineness has been fully vindicated by Kirchhoff and others: Böckh, *C. I. G.* 8; Löschke, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abh.*



iv (1879), pp. 297 foll. ; Rühl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 492 ; *Imagines* (1898), p. 50 ; Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildh.* 4 ; Hirschfeld, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1885, 778 ; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* no. 103 ; U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Lectiones epigraphicae* (Index Schol. Gotting. 1885-6), pp. 3 foll. ; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>1</sup>, p. 22.

(a) *In Ionic dialect and characters :—*

Φανοδίκου  
 εἰμὶ τοῦρροκ-  
 ράτεος τοῦ  
 Προκοννη-  
 5 σίου· κρητῆρ-  
 α δὲ καὶ ὑποκ-  
 ρητῆριον κ-  
 αὶ ἡθμόν ἐς π-  
 ρωτανήϊον  
 10 ἔδωκεν Σ[ιγε-  
 εῦσι].

(b) *In Attic dialect and characters :—*

Φανοδίκου εἰμὶ τοῦ  
 Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Προκο-  
 νησίου καὶ γὰρ κρητῆρα  
 καπίστατον καὶ ἡθμ-  
 5 ον ἐς πρωτανεῖον ἔ-  
 δωκα μνημα Σιγε-  
 εῦσι. ἐὰν δέ τι πάσχ-  
 ω μελεδαίνειν με, ὦ  
 Σιγεῖῃς. καὶ μ' ἐπό-  
 10 εισεν Ἀίσωπος καὶ  
 ἁδελφοί.

The pillar, on the top of which is a socket, was probably surmounted by an aëtoma, or possibly by a small relief ; it is too narrow to have supported a bust. Above and below the inscription the spaces which are now blank were probably once painted. Kirchhoff's view is that Phanodikos was tyrant of Prokonnesos in the first half of the sixth century B.C. (like Metrodoros, Herodotos iv. 138, i. e. B.C. 515). Being on good terms with the government of Sigeion, then in the hands of the Athenians, he presented a bronze (?) krater

and tripod-stand for it, together with a wine-strainer, for the use of the Sigeian prytaneion. He accompanied this gift with a pillar to commemorate himself, inscribed in his Ionic home by Prokonnesian workmen (*inscription a*), and adorned with a picture of himself. When the Sigeians erected the monument, they re-engraved the inscription in Attic lower down on the pillar, nearer the eye-line, with one or two improvements (*inscription b*) and a second painting below (?). The monument of Phanodikos *loquitur*: 'And if I am receiving injury, take care of me, Sigeians. Now Aisopos made me, and his brethren.' The reading of lines 10, 11 was probably as here given; an examination of the stone reveals no trace of the strange form  $\Sigma\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omega$  read by Röhl. Compare a similar twofold document from Kyzikos, discovered 1874: *Hermes*, xv. p. 92; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 464; Michel, *Recueil*, 532.

## 9 [8].

### Treaty between Eleians and Heraians, B. C. 550-500.

A bronze tablet brought from Olympia by Sir W. Gell in 1813; now in the British Museum. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 11; Franz, *El. Ep. Gr.* p. 64; Facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society, i. pl. 78; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 162, cp. *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 68; *Gk. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 157; *Catal. of Bronzes*, 264; Michel, *Recueil*, 1; Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 258; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 110; cf. *Add.* p. 176; *Imag.* (1898), p. 36; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 1149; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inscr. von Olympia*, 9 and p. 795; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* 27; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 706. Every letter is clear.

‘Α Φράτρα τοῦρ Φαλείους καὶ τοῖς ‘Ηρ-  
 φαίοις. Συμμαχία κ’ εἶα ἑκατὸν Φέτεα. .  
 ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ. αἱ δέ τι δέοι, αἵτε Φέπος αἵτε Φ-  
 ἀργον, συνείδαν κ’ ἀλάλοισ τά τ’ ἄλ’ καὶ πᾶ-  
 5 ρ πολέμω. αἱ δέ μὰ συνείαν τάλαντόν κ’  
 ἀργύρῳ ἀποτίνοιαν τῶι Δι’ Ὀλυμπίῳ τοῖ κα-  
 δαλημένοι λατρεῖόμενον. αἱ δέ τιρ τὰ γ-  
 ράφεια ταῖ καδαλέοιτο, αἵτε Φέτας αἵτε τ-  
 ελεστὰ αἵτε δᾶμος, ἐν τ’ ἐπιάρῳ κ’ ἐνέχ-  
 10 οιο τῶι ὕταυτ’ ἐγραμένωι.

Those who are curious about the dialect may consult Meister, *Griech. Dialekte*, ii. pp. 47 foll., and cp. Strab. 333. Double letters (λλ, μμ, δδ) are not written. For the second proper name many read Εἰφαῖος, but the second letter is more like ρ than υ. We append a version :

*'This is the covenant between the Eleians and the Heraians. There shall be alliance for a hundred years : and this (year) shall begin (it) : and if either need help, whether of word or deed, they shall stand by one another, in all other affairs, and in respect of (παρ = περὶ) warfare : and if they stand not by each other, they who have so offended (Zeus) shall pay a talent of silver to Olympian Zeus, to be confiscated to him. And if any one shall injure this inscription, whether private man, or magistrate, or community, (the offender) shall be liable to the sacred fine (τῷ ἐπιτάφῃ) here written.'*

The Eleians, after a long struggle, dispossessed the Pisatans of the management of the Olympic temple and games (B. C. 572), which appears to have been in the hands of the former people at the time of this treaty (Grote, pt. 2, ch. 7 fin.). The Spartans, now masters of Messenia, and extending their conquests in the direction of Arkadia and Argolis, found it to their interest to play the part of protectors of the Eleians in their sacred prerogative (Grote, *ibid.*; E. Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.*, Eng. tr., i. p. 237). As for Arkadia, its several states, with no power of mutual cohesion, were either drawn into the Spartan alliance (as Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos), or formed other connexions as fortune might dictate. This tablet shows us the Heraians associating themselves with the now influential Eleians. (Another interpretation dates it somewhat earlier, before the subjection of the Pisatans—see Busolt, *loc. cit.*) It would be an anachronism to speak of *Elis* or *Heraia*, for neither was united into a city (συννοικισμός) until the fourth century B. C. (Strabo, p. 337); till then they had dwelt κατὰ κόμας: hence δᾶμος in the treaty. τὸ ἐπίταφον must refer to the fine already mentioned, rather than mean 'curse' like the Attic ἐπαρά (cf. Ziebarth, in *Hermes*, xxx (1895), p. 64), since no such curse has been mentioned, and the inscription seems to be quite complete.

## 10 [9].

## The Peisistratids : B. C. 527-510.

In 1877 there was dug up part of the cornice of the altar dedicated by Peisistratos, the eldest son of Hippias, who had served the office of archon during his father's rule : it contains the inscription cited by Thukydides, vi. 54. For facsimile see *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 41, no. 373 e; *Ἀθήναιον*, vi. p. 149; H. Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 83; and *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiii (1898), pl. x. and p. 466. Comp. Roberts, 56; Preger, *Inscr. Gr. metr.* 71; E. Hoffmann, *Syll. Epigr.* 238; Michel, *Recueil*, 1019.

Μνημα τόδε ᾗς ἀρχῆς Πεισιστ[ρατος Ἰππίου ᾗ]υῖος  
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθ[ί]ου ἐν τεμένει.

The date falls between the death of Peisistratos the elder B. C. 527, and the expulsion of Hippias in 510. Thukydides says that in his time the inscription was 'dimly legible' (ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι): but the letters are to this day as fresh as when first cut, and are clearly no later restoration, so that he must refer to the fading of the colour with which the letters had been painted in. It has, it is true, been suggested that he uses the word ἀμυδρά in the sense of 'obsolete' (Szanto in *Wiener Studien*, iii (1881), p. 155). Yet it is doubtful whether the word can bear this sense. Its meaning is 'indistinct'; cp. its use by Archilochos (54) and Pausanias (x. 28. 1) of objects seen through water. In [Dem.] lix. in *Neaer.* 76 (ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς) it does not necessarily mean 'obsolete,' and in Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* i. 7 (Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι . . . ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις) it certainly means 'indistinct.' The former interpretation is therefore to be retained.

## 11 [20].

## Victory of Athens over the Boiotians and Chalkis, B. C. 506.

On the stylobate of the portico erected by the Athenians at Delphoi : B. Haussoullier, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1881, p. 12; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 3 a (p. 169), *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Köhler, *Rh. Mus.* xlv. p. 1; Pomtow, *Rh. Mus.* xlix. p. 627; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles u. Athen.* ii. p. 287; Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topogr. von Delphi*, pl. v. 9 and *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 44; Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), 615; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 3; Michel, *Recueil*, 1116.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν κ[α]τὰ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια  
ἐλόντες τῶν πολεμίων.

Pausanias connects the dedication with Phormion's successes in B. C. 429, x. 11. 5: ὁκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι στοὰν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιιν ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τε Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις ἦσαν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σύμμαχοι. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ πλοίων τὰ ἄκρα κοσμήματα καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαῖ κ.τ.λ. [See Frazer's note *ad loc.*] But the archaic writing belongs to an earlier date, and the inscription is before the time of Marathon, although too much stress must not be laid on the fact that ⊕ occurs here as opposed to ⊙ in no. 13, since the latter is a copy. We may therefore follow Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Homolle with Dittenberger and Wilhelm (*Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxiii (1898), p. 478) in connecting the inscription with victories near and on the Euripos (Herodotos v. 73-78; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 443), when the Athenians, although nothing is said of a sea-fight, seem to have captured some of the Chalkidian vessels. The same victory gave us the inscription which follows.

## 12 [27].

## Victory of Athens over the Boiotians and Chalkis, B. C. 506.

(1) A block of Eleusinian stone, found in the ruins of a large building N.E. of the Propylaia. Letters of the sixth century. Kirchhoff, *Sitzungsber. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 112; C. I. A. iv (1), p. 78, 334 a; Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 83; Preger, *Inscr. Gr. Metr.* 72; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 249; Lolling, *Kατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου*, i. p. 65, no. 94. Broken on r., entire at top, joint on l.

ΠΙΝ:ΠΑΙΔΞ :ΤΟΝΗΙΠΡΟΣΔ
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(2) Two fragments of a base of Pentelic marble, discovered on the Akropolis. Letters of Periklean date. Lolling, *Κατάλογος*, i. p. 66, no. 95. (a) Broken all round; recently discovered. Dr. Wilhelm has kindly sent an impression. (b) Entire at top, broken r. and l. *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1869, pp. 409 foll.; C. I. A. i. 334; E. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*

(a) / A N  
 S A N

(b) ΕΝΑΙΟΝΕΡΑΜ/  
 ΠΡΟΣΔΕΙΛ

The former inscription comes from the original base which supported the bronze chariot dedicated out of the spoils of the victory over the Boiotians and Chalkidians about B. C. 506:

Herodotos v. 77 Καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ οἱ τὰδε·

Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ,

δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβησαν ὕβριν·

τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλὰδι τὰσδ' ἔθεσαν.

Comp. Pausan. i. 28. 2 καὶ ἄρμα κείται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. It appears from the inscription that on the original monument and in the text of Herodotos the two hexameters have changed places. The fact is that Herodotos saw, not the original monument, but its restoration, made about the middle of the fifth century; the second version belongs to this restored monument. To explain the change, it has been suggested that in its new position (on the left hand immediately on entering the Propylaea) the quadriga was far from the chains (which hung, as Herodotos says, ἀντίον τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον, i. e. probably the old temple of Athena). Consequently the chains could hardly be mentioned in the first line. (See Kirchhoff, *Sitzungsber. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1887, pp. 111 foll.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 443.) The restoration of the monument was probably made upon Perikles' conquest of Euboea in B. C. 445, thus connecting his own victory with the victory of sixty years before. In that year, 445, Perikles would leave no means untried to reanimate the failing hopes of his countrymen (Grote, pt. 2, ch. 45).

# PART II

## FROM THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE<sup>a</sup> PELOPONNESIAN WAR

B.C. 490-431.

### 13.

#### Treasury of the Athenians at Delphoi : between B. C. 490 and 480.

Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), pp. 608 foll. ; Frazer on Pausanias, x. 11. 5 ; Pomtow, *Arch. Anz.* 1898, pp. 43 foll. ; Michel, *Recueil*, 1117. On various fragments found from 1893-1896, mostly among the ruins of the Treasury. The sequence of the fragments is not quite certain, but the following is suggested as most probable :—

ἸΑθηναῖοι τ[ῶ]ι Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπὸ Μῆδων ἀκ[ροθ]ῆναια τῆς Μαραθ[ῶ]νι  
μ[ά]χης].

Pausanias (x. 11. 5) says: οἱ δὲ θησαυροὶ Θηβαίων ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν ἐς πόλεμον καὶ Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ὡσαύτως . . . ἐπεὶ Θηβαίοις γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων ὁμοῦ Δάτιδι εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί. The inscription is not the original one but an apparently faithful copy, made probably in the fourth century. A description of the remains of the Treasury may be read in Frazer's *Pausanias* (*loc. cit.*), where further references are given. At the same time it is doubtful whether this inscription refers to the Treasury itself, and not rather, in spite of the words of Pausanias, to spoils (ἀκροθῆναια) from Marathon set up on bases in front of the Treasury.

## 14.

## Ostracism at Athens, B. C. 487-483.

Four potsherds. See R. Zahn, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxii (1897), pp. 345 foll.

(1) From the 'Persian deposit' east of the Parthenon. Benndorf, *Griech. u. Sicil. Vasenbilder*, pl. 29. 10, p. 50; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 192 (no. 569); Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 4.

Μεγακλῆς \* [Ἰππο]κράτους Ἀλω[π]εκῆθε.

This Megakles was the brother of Agariste and uncle of Perikles. His ostracism (as one of the 'tyrannizing' party) took place in B. C. 487-486 (Arist. *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 22), and must be distinguished from that of Megakles, son of Kleisthenes, and maternal grandfather of Alkibiades (Lysias, xiv. 39; Andokides, iv. 34); unless indeed we suppose that they are the same person, and that Isokrates (xvi. 26) is wrong in calling Alkibiades' grandfather the son of Kleisthenes. The potsherd has been cut to a circular shape, and the inscription incised on it in a spiral beginning at the edge and working to the centre.

(2) From the same place as no. 1. Studniczka, *Arch. Jahrb.* ii (1887), p. 161; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 192 (no. 570); Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 84; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 5.

Χσάνθιππος

\* Ἀρρίφρονος.

(3) Found in 1891 in the rubbish from some old graves on the Peiraieus road. Lolling, *Δελτίον ἀρχ.* 1891, p. 79; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 193 (no. 571); Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 84. The incision of the second name was not completed.

Χσάνθιππος

\* Ἀρρίφ[ρ - -

Xanthippos, son of Arriphron, was the father of Perikles, and the leader of the constitutional party, as opposed to the progressive democrats. His ostracism fell in B. C. 485-484 (Aristot. *loc. cit.*).

(4) Found in excavating to the north-west of the Akropolis in January, 1897. R. Zahn, *l. c.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 6.

Θεμισθοκλῆς

Φρεάρριος[ς].



This last, which bears the name of the great Themistokles, may belong to the year B. C. 484-483, when Aristekides received the greater number of ostraka; or it may have been used on the occasion, some ten years later, when Themistokles himself was the victim.

Notice the variety of ways in which the persons are indicated (own name + father's name + demotikon, own name + father's name, own name + demotikon). The official method, since the reform of Kleisthenes, was to give the demotikon, but on these potsherds incised by individual voters it is natural to find variety. Cp. von Wilamowitz-Möllerndorff, *Aristot. u. Athen*, ii. pp. 169 foll.

## 15 [18].

The Sicilian cities: Kamarina, shortly before B. C. 484.

A statue-base discovered at Olympia, 1876. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 48; cp. 1878, p. 181; 1879, p. 43; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 744; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii. p. 388; Rühl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 95; *Imagines* (1898), p. 32; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 266; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 309.

Πραξιτέλης ἀνέθηκε Συρακόσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα  
καὶ Καμαριναῖος· πρόσθα (δ) ἐ Μαντινέαι  
Κρίνιος υἱὸς ἔβαιεν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πολυμήλω[ι]  
ἔσλὸς ἑὸν, καὶ Φοι μνῆμα τόδ' ἔστ' ἀρετᾶς.

The inscription stands on a base which supported two statues or groups, one by Athanodoros and Asopodoros, the other by Atotos and Argeiadas; both were dedicated by Praxiteles. The position in which the base was found shows that the dedication existed before the temple of Zeus was built (completed about B. C. 458).

We may see in Praxiteles a noble Arkadian, who, not satisfied with the obscure career open to him in his native country, sought fame and fortune in foreign lands. Like Phormis of Mainalos (Pausan. v. 27. 1) and Agesias of Stymphalos (Pindar, *Olymp.* 6), so Praxiteles doubtless had been at Syracuse in the service of the tyrants. At the time of the dedication he was a citizen of two cities, Kamarina and Syracuse (a possibility in Greek, though not in Roman law).

The inscription must therefore belong to some time before B. C. 484, in which year Gelon destroyed Kamarina, transferring its inhabitants to Syrakuse. For between B. C. 461 (the date of the restoration of Kamarina) and the beginning of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, there is barely time for the erection of these dedications.

## 16.

## Gelon's Dedication at Delphoi, B. C. 479.

On a base which formerly supported a tripod at the summit of the Sacred Way at Delphoi. Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), pp. 654 foll.; cp. *Rev. d. Ét. anc.* 1900, p. 268; Th. Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi (1897), pp. 588 foll.; *Mélanges Weil* (1898), pp. 207 foll.; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *GGA. Gel. Nachrichten*, 1897, p. 313; F. Blass, *Bacchylidis carmina*, ed. 2 praef. p. lvi; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 910; Michel, *Recueil*, 1119.

Γέλων ὁ Δεινομέν[εος]

ἀνέθηκε τῶπóλλωνι

Συρακόσιος.

Τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν Νίκην εἰργάσατο

Βίων Διοδώρου υἱὸς Μιλήσιος.

A second mutilated inscription, on a similar base, is restored by Homolle (*ibid.*) as follows:—

[Γάρων ὁ Δεινομέ]νεος ἀνέθηκε [τ]ε[λ-

.... τάλαντα ....] ἑπτὰ μυαῖ.

Finally, two other similar bases, but wanting inscriptions and slightly smaller, have been found near the two described.

These are the bases of the four golden tripods dedicated by Gelon, Hieron, Polyzelos and Thrasybulos, out of the Karthaginian spoils, of which a record is given by various writers. Diodoros (xi. 26. 7) states merely that Gelon, after the victory of Himera, dedicated a golden tripod; but Athenaios (vi. 231 F) quotes Phainias of Eresos and Theopompos as saying that Gelon and Hieron adorned the Pythian shrine, each of them dedicating a tripod and a Nike of gold. The Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 155, quotes the epigram (attributed in the *Anthology*, vi. 214, to Simonides) which was inscribed on the dedication:—

Φημί Γέλων', 'Ιέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
 παῖδας Δεινομένους, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,  
 βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλήν δὲ παρασχεῖν  
 σύμμαχον Ἑλλήσιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

The last two lines are omitted by the *Anthology* and by Suidas (s. v. Δαρετίου), and replaced by

ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων  
 Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

Δαμαρετίου is Bentley's emendation of Δαρετίου. It is an allusion to Damarete, Gelon's wife, who interceded for the conquered Karthaginians and was rewarded by them with a gold crown worth a hundred talents (Diodoros, xi. 26. 3). But both of the alternative second couplets have the appearance of being later additions, although that given by the Scholiast has more to recommend it than the version of Suidas and the *Anthology*. The fine verses of Bacchylides (iii. 17 foll.) probably refer to Hieron's gift:—

λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσὸς  
 ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων  
 πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγ[στ]ον ἄλσος  
 Φ[οί]βου παρὰ Κασταλία[s] ῥέ[ε]θροισ  
 Δελφοὶ διέπονσι.

It will be noticed here that the poet speaks of *τριπόδων*; the plural may be a mere poetic licence, or it may point to the dedication of more than one tripod by Hieron in honour of more than one Pythian victory; or, again, Bacchylides may be giving the credit of all four dedications to Hieron. Bion the Milesian, as Perdrizet has pointed out (*loc. cit.*), is known from Polemon the *σητηλοκόπας* (Diog. Laert. iv. 58) and is to be distinguished from the native of Klazomenai or Chios, who lived half a century earlier.

## 17 [11].

Epitaph upon the Megarians who fell in the Persian War,  
 at Artemision, Mykale, Salamis, Plataiai:

between B. C. 478–467.

The inscription was first edited by Böckh, *C. I. G.* 1051, from a copy by Fourmont; see also his *Kleine Schriften*, iv. p. 125; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 461;

Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 53. It was lost sight of since Fourmont's time, but rediscovered by Wilhelm in 1898. We give it from his copy in *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. pp. 238 foll. The public tomb in honour of the Megarian heroes of the Persian war is mentioned by Pausanias, i. 43. 3: *Εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ κ.τ.λ.* Our inscription however is not the original, but a restoration (as the heading declares) by Helladios the high-priest, probably as late as the fourth century A.D. Accordingly we find ι for ει, ει for ι, ε for αι, αι for ε, οι for υ.

*Heading drawn up by Helladios.*

Τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων κὲ  
κειμένω[ν] | ἐνταῦθα ἡρώων, ἀπολόμενον δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, Ἑλλάδιος ὁ  
ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιγρ[α]φήναι ἐποίησεν ἰς τειμὴν τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῆς  
πόλεως. Σιμωνίδης | ἐποίει.

*Epigram.*

- 5 Ἑλλάδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ ἀέξιν  
ἰέμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν <ι> ἐδεξάμεθα  
τοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ <sup>1</sup> Πάλῳ, ἔνθα καλεῖτε  
ἀγῶας Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος,  
τοὶ δ' ἐν ὄρι Μοικάλας, τοὶ δ' ἐνπροσθε Σαλαμείνους,  
10 [νηῶν Φοινισσῶν ἐξολέσαντες Ἀρῇ],  
τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν παιδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἵτινες ἔτλαν  
χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἱπομάχους ἰένε·  
ἀστοὶ δὲ ἄμμι τόδε [Μεγαρῆς?] γέρας ὀμφαλῷ ἀμφὶς  
Νεισέων ἔπορον λαοδόκων ἀγορῇ.

*Note by Helladios.*

- 15 Μέχρις ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ πόλις ταῦρον ἐνάγιζεν.

ll. 3, 4. This is the only authority for the ascription of this epigram to Simonides. Pausanias, as Wilhelm notes, does not actually mention the epitaph which, with a list of names, doubtless stood on the monument. Possibly it was even then obliterated by time. The epigram no doubt goes back, in origin, to the time of the erection of the monument, but in all probability all but the first couplet is an addition, as is the case with many 'Simonidean' epigrams. l. 7. Pelion on the north and Euboeia on the south define the scene of the battle of Artemision. l. 10. The restoration is purely conjectural. Dr. Wilhelm (*Oesterr. Jahreshfte*, iii. p. 98,

<sup>1</sup> Corrected out of καὶ.

note 6) has argued against the restoration ; but in a later communication he recognizes that a line calling special attention to the sea-fights is in place ; also that, if the omission of the pentameter produces a symmetrical arrangement, l. 9 (which describes two battles) being preceded and followed by two couplets (each describing one battle), yet that symmetry is merely formal, since the first three elements are sea-fights, the fourth a land-fight. We must therefore suppose that Helladios skipped a line in making his copy. l. 12. Herodotos (ix. 69) says that Theban troopers routed the Megarians and killed 600 of them. l. 13. The restoration is Kaibel's. But this as well as all other emendations leave the couplet unsatisfactory, and the Ionicism ἀγορῇ is surprising. l. 15. On the neglect of the augment in ἐναγίζεν see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Grammar*, 717 foll. Note that ἐναγίζειν is used of offerings to underworld deities and 'heroes,' θύειν of sacrifices to celestials.

## 18.

**Epitaph for Korinthians slain at Salamis, B. C. 478-468.**

On a slab found originally at Ampelakion (Ambelaki) on the site of the old cemetery of the city of Salamis, then built into a house, and now in the National Museum, Athens. Dragoumis, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xxii (1897), pp. 52 foll. pl. ix ; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1897, 306 ; Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. pp. 227 foll.

[Ω ξεῖνε, εὐνδρ]όν ποκ' ἐναλομες ἄστν Κορίνθου  
[Νδν δ' ἀμὲ Αἶα]ντος [νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς].

Besides the inscription itself, there are other meaningless letters which have been scratched on the stone by some idle hand. The inscription is in the Korinthian alphabet. The Athenians allowed the Korinthians to bury their slain ἐν Σαλαμῖνι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν and place this epitaph on their tomb (Plutarch, *de Herod. Malign.* 39, p. 870 E). By Pseudo-Dio Chrysostom [*Or.* 37 (=20 v. Arn.) 18] and in the *Anthology* (App. ii. 4) the lines are attributed to Simonides. All the literary authorities, including Plutarch (*loc. cit.*), add a second couplet:—

ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες  
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα,

or the like. Of this there is no trace remaining on the stone, although there is no lack of space for it below the extant lines. The couplet for various reasons (e.g. the scansion Πέρσας, and the distinction between Medes and Persians) is undoubtedly of a much later date. All doubts, however, as to the age of the first couplet of the epigram have been set at rest by the discovery of the inscription, although it does not of course follow that Simonides was the author of it. At Corinth itself there was a cenotaph of the Korinthians who were buried at Salamis.

## 19 [12].

Inscription on the bronze stand of three intertwined serpents, which supported the gold tripod dedicated at Delphoi by the Greeks after Plataiai: about B. C. 475.

The golden portion was destroyed by the Phokians in the Sacred War (Paus. x. 13. 5); but the bronze serpent-pillar remained *in situ*, until Constantine removed it to his new capital, where it still remains. The base is supposed to have been found at Delphoi (Frazer, note on Pausanias, x. 13. 9). One of the serpent-heads still exists in the armoury of St. Irene. A full account of the monument in Dethier and Mordtmann's *Epigraphik von Byzanzion* (Wien, 1864), pp. 3 foll. Cp. Gibbon, *Rom. Emp.* ch. xvii. The text is given from Fabricius, *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* i. pp. 176 foll. See also Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 153; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 70; *Imagines* (1898), p. 28; Bauer, *Wiener Studien*, 1887, p. 223; A. v. Domaszewski in *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* i (1891), p. 181; Swoboda, *Arch.-Ep. Mitth.* xx. pp. 130 foll.; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4406; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 7; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 34, no. 46; Michel, *Recueil*, 1118.

---

[Τ]ο[ῖ]δε τὸν

13th coil of serpents.

πόλεμον [ἐ]-

πολ[έ]μεον

---

Λα[κ]ε[δαιμόνιοι]

12th coil.

5 Ἀθαναῖοι]

Κορίνθιοι

---

Τεγᾶται]

11th coil.

Σικυνώνιοι]

Αἰγινᾶται

---

10	Μεγαρήs 'Επιδαύριοι 'Ερχομένοι	10th coil.
	Φλειάσιοι	9th coil.
	Τροζάνιοι	
15	'Ερμιονήs Τιρύνθιοι	8th coil.
	Πλαταιήs Θεσπιήs	
	Μυκανήs	7th coil.
20	Κεῖοι Μάλιοι Τήνιοι	
	Νάξιοι	6th coil.
	'Ερετριήs	
25	Χαλκιδής Στυρήs	5th coil.
	Φαλείοι Ποτειδαῖται	
	Λευκάδιοι	4th coil.
30	Φαναγοριήs Κύθνιοι Σίφνιοι	
	'Αμπρακιῶται	3rd coil.
	Λεπρεᾶται.	

The surface of the 13th coil has been flattened back from its due curve to receive the present inscription: here therefore it is supposed by some that Pausanias had inscribed his arrogant epigram:

'Ελλάνων ἀρχαγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσα Μήδων  
Πανσανίας Φοῖβω μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκα τόδε.

(So in *Anthol.* i. 133. xliii; though Thukydides, i. 132, Plutarch, *de Herod. Malig.* fin., Suidas, s.v. Πανσανίας, and [Demosthenes], *In Neaer.* 97, give it in κοινή, and in the 3rd person, which is less characteristic.) More probably, however,

this epigram was inscribed on the stone pedestal of the column. On some part of the dedication probably stood the couplet quoted by Diodoros, xi. 33. 2:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτήρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
δουλοσύνης στυγεράς ῥυσάμενοι πόλις.

This couplet may have taken the place of the erased one. At the ends of the 10th, 9th, 7th coils are what seem like remains of letters; but no names can be deciphered, and the marks are perhaps accidental. Omitting these, we get 31 names, including all the 27 names given by Pausanias, v. 23, as inscribed upon the corresponding monument at Olympia, with the addition of 4 omitted by him, viz. Θεσπιῆς, Ἐρετριῆς, Λευκάδιοι, Σίφνιοι (for these see Herod. vii. 202, 222, 226; ix. 28; viii. 46, 48). Observe that there is a uniform arrangement of the names, 3 on each coil; except on the 4th and 7th. Τήνιοι is inscribed more deeply than the rest and in Ionic, having probably been added afterwards by the Tenians themselves (by permission of Sparta) on account of their one ship's adventure (Herod. viii. 82); on the 4th Σίφνιοι was similarly inserted. The writing of both these names is somewhat irregular. Bauer holds that the right to have names inscribed on this monument was earned not by fighting in any battle, but by contributing to the cost of the monument. That is why the list on the Olympian monument was different; and that also would explain the omission of Pale, Seriphos, and Kroton, and the inclusion of Elis. Pausanias, it would seem, wrongly refers this, as well as the Olympian monument, to the battle of Plataiai. The suggestion is attractive. But we must remember that, in Thukydides' phrase *δοῦναι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα*, the emphasis, according to Greek usage, lies on the participle rather than on the finite verb; and moreover the heading of the inscription is adverse to the theory. Domaszewski's explanation of the list as the official list of the Greek allies, arranged in three groups (1. Tegea to Tiryns, *Peloponnesian allies*; 2. Plataiai to Elis, *Athenian allies*; 3. Potidaia to Ambrakia, *Korinthian colonies*), is also untenable. Both Bauer's and Domaszewski's theories have been carefully discussed by Swoboda (pp. 132



fol.). We may agree with him that the order was probably on the whole decided by the political importance and services of the states; the generals who drew up the list would thus have had considerable freedom of choice. The attempt to arrange the names roughly in geographical groups has produced the appearance of a political grouping.

## 20.

## Letter of Dareios : early Fifth Century.

On a marble block now in the Louvre. A copy, made in the first half of the second century of our era, of the original Ionic translation of Dareios' letter. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xiii (1889), p. 529; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 2; Michel, *Recueil*, 32; O. Kern, *Inscr. von Magnesia*, p. 102. Comp. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1896, p. 643; E. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), p. 19.

Βασιλεὺς [β]ασιλέ-  
ων Δαρείος ὁ Ὑσ-  
τάσπεω Γαδάται  
δούλῳ τὰδε λέγε[ι].  
5 πυνθάνομαι σε τῶν  
ἐμῶν ἐπιταγμάτων  
οὐ κατὰ πάντα πει-  
θαρχεῖν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ  
τῇν ἐμὴν ἐκπονείς  
10 [γ]ῆν, τοὺς πέραν Εὐ-  
φράτου καρποὺς ἐπ(ι)  
τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέ-  
[ρ]η καταφντεύων, ἐπαι-  
[ν]ῶ σὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ  
15 [δ]ιὰ ταῦτά σοι κείσεται  
μεγάλη χάρις ἐμ βασι-  
λέως οἴκῳ· ὅτι δὲ τῇν  
ὑπὲρ θεῶν μου διάθε-  
σιν ἀφανίζεις, δώσω  
20 σοὶ μὴ μεταβαλομένῳι  
πεῖραν ἡδίκη[μέ]νῳι θυ-  
μοῦ· φντουργοὺς γὰρ  
[ι]εροὺς Ἀπόλλωνος φό-

ρον ἔπρασσεσ καὶ χώραν  
 25 [σ]καπανεύων βέβηλον ἐπ[ε]-  
 τασσεσ, ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν  
 προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν  
 [ν]οῦν, ὃς Πέρσαισ εἶπε  
 [πᾶσ]αν ἀτρέκε[ε]αν καὶ . . .  
 - - -

Gadates seems to have been satrap of Western Asia Minor in the reign of Dareios (B. C. 521–486), and possibly had his head-quarters at Magnesia on the Maiandros, near which, on the road to Tralleis, the stone was found. He is commended for his experiments in the acclimatization of crops or fruit-trees; similarly the Persian king transplanted to Damascus the vines which produced the wine for the royal table (Athen. i. 28 d). In the course of these experiments, however, he has been guilty of extortion from the gardeners attached to the shrine of Apollo, and of imposing profane duties on them. *πέραν Εὐφράτου* means from the Persian province of Syria. The Apollo whose property Gadates has thereby violated is probably the god of Magnesia itself. Certain traces of the original Ionic dialect of this document are preserved in the copy: e. g. *πειθαρχεῖν* with genitive, and the last phrase. For the phraseology, cp. especially Thuk. i. 129.

## 21 [14].

### Rise of Athens : Themistoklean walls, B. C. 478.

A base of a funeral monument of white marble, which once had above it a figure in relief (comp. the Aristion gravestone, Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, Taf. ii) or perhaps a recumbent lion: found in June 1873, in the N.E. of the city, near the royal stables, among the massive remains of the ancient walls. Lüders in *Hermes*, vol. vii. p. 258; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A. i.* 483; Löschke, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Adh.* iv (1879), p. 301; Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildhauer*, 14. Traces of the original red colouring of the letters remain.

Ἀντιδότου  
 Καλλωνίδης ἐποίηι  
 το Δεινίου.

This may serve to verify the words of Thukydides (i. 93): *τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ*

χρόνῳ· καὶ δὴλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἔστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἥ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαὶ τε στηλῆαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι ἐργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. For the course of the walls see among others E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. p. 60; and *Stadtgesch. von Athen*, pp. 104 foll.; Curt Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen im Altertum*, ii. 197 foll.

## 22 [15].

## The Sicilian cities—Hieron, B. C. 474.

On a bronze helmet now in the British Museum (Walters, *Catal. of Bronzes*, 250), discovered at Olympia in 1817 by Mr. Cartwright. Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 510; *Imagines* (1898), 75; Dittenberger and Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 249; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3228; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 310; Roberts, 111; Michel, *Recueil*, 1084.

Ἰάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος  
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι  
τῷ Δι Τύραν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

From the Etruscan spoils (τὰ Τύρρανα) dedicated by Hieron (Ἰάρων, Dorice) to Zeus at Olympia, after his victory over the Etruscans in the great sea-fight before Kyme, recorded by Diod. xi. 51, and celebrated by Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. The Tyrrhenum Mare owed its name to this early θαλαττοκρατία of the Etruscans. The inscription of Hieron, the professed 'tyrant,' is more modest than that of Pausanias upon the Plataian tripod (see above, p. 23). The whole inscription is certainly metrical, but the precise nature of the scansion is not clear.

## 23 [16].

## The Ionians after Mykale: Teos, about B. C. 470.

One of several στηλῆαι containing imprecations upon traitors and enemies of the state. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 3044. Lines 1-12 were re-read by Le Bas at Teos, the rest is now lost; *Voyage Arch.* pt. v. no. 59; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 497; *Imagines* (1898), p. 50; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* iii. p. 49, no. 105; Roberts, 142; Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 480; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 156; Michel, *Recueil*, 1318 (with restorations of B. II. 8-18 by Haussoullier). Kirchhoff (*Studien*, p. 13) places the date soon after Mykale.

We know that the greater part of the population of Teos had sought a new home at Abdera, rather than submit to the Persian yoke after the fall of Lydia (Herod. i. 168; Strabo, 644). After

Mykale, no doubt, a good many returned home (Strabo, *ibid.*) to Teos; and their arrival would not tend to allay the disturbances which may well have arisen within the city upon the sudden overthrow of the Persian dominion. That there were disorders is shown by the appointment of an *αλουμνήτης*, an extraordinary magistrate resembling the Roman *dictator* (Dionys. Hal. v. 73), whose office is defined by Aristotle as *αἵρετὴ τυραννίς* (Pol. iii. 9. 5), during which the ordinary annual magistrates (*τιμοῦχοι*) were suspended. At the same time, the phrase *ὅστις τοῦ λοιποῦ αλουμνῶν* seems to point to the continuance of this office for some time, although it is hardly necessary to suppose that the *αλουμνήτης* was an ordinary magistrate at Teos. By the *εὔθυνος* also we should understand an extraordinary magistrate, perhaps appointed to inquire into the management of public moneys and superior to the ordinary *εὔθυνοι* of the place (cf. *C. I. G.* 3059). The mention of piracy shows that the Athenian ascendancy had not yet been fully established in the Aegean: by the *βάρβαροι* we understand the Persians, whose yoke had just been thrown off. Whatever was the nature of the disturbances at Teos, at all events, upon the restoration of order, the government enjoins these public curses, part only of which remains. On the employment of public imprecations by the Greeks see Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer*, ii. p. 254; Ziebarth in *Hermes*, xxx (1895), pp. 57 foll., and compare the cursings uttered at Athens by the archon every year, and by the herald at the opening of every *ἐκκλησία* (Plut. *Solon*, 24; Isokr. *Paneg.* § 157).

## A.

§ 1. (*Imprecation against compounders of poisons.*)

“Ὅστις φάρμακα δηλητη-  
ρια ποιοῖ ἐπὶ Τητίοσι-  
ν, τὸ ξυνὸν ἢ ἐπ’ ἰδιώτηι, κ-  
εῖνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ α-  
5 ὑπὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κέλνου.

§ 2. (*Against those who interfere with the importation of corn,*  
cf. Plut. *Sol.* 24.)

“Ὅστις ἐς γῆν τὴν Τητὴν κ-  
ωλύοι σῖτον ἐσάγεσθαι

ἡ τέχνηι ἡ μηχανῇι ἡ κατ-  
 ἂ θάλασσαν ἡ κατ' ἥπειρο-  
 10 ν, ἡ ἔσαχθέντα ἀνωθεοίη, κείν-  
 ον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτ-  
 ὄν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου.

## B.

- - -  
 - - -

§ 3. (*Against those who are disobedient to the magistrates.*)

Ὅστις Τητίων εἰς θύμῳ  
 ἡ αἰσιν[μ]νήτηι . . . ηι ἡ  
 5 ἐπανίστατο [τῶ]ι αἰ[σιν]-  
 νήτηι, ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ  
 αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείν-  
 ου.

§ 4. (*Against magistrates guilty of neglect of their duty or of treasonable practices.*)

Ὅστις τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰσιν-  
 νῶ[ν] ἐν Τέωι ἡ γῆι τῇι Τη-  
 10 τίηι - - - -  
 - - - -  
 ὥς (vel - - ὡς) προδο - - τῇ[ν] πό-  
 λ[ιν] καὶ γῆν] τὴν Τητί-  
 ων, ἡ τοῦ[ς] ἀνδρας [ἐν ν]-  
 15 ἡσῶι ἡ θα[λάσσηι] ἡ τοῦ[ς]  
 μετε[λθόντας] εἰ[ς]  
 ἀρ[ωγ]ῇι περὶ Τητίων τοῦ  
 ξυ[νοῦ] προδο[ίη], ἡ κίξα]-  
 λλεύοι, ἡ κίξάλλας ὑπο-  
 20 δέχοιτο, ἡ λητίζοιτο, ἡ λ-  
 ηϊστὰς ὑποδέχοιτο εἰ-  
 δὼς ἐκ γῆς τῆς Τητίης ἡ [θ]-  
 αλά[τ]ης φέροντας, ἡ [τι κ]-  
 ακὸν βουλευοὶ περὶ Τητί-  
 25 ων τοῦ ξυνοῦ εἰδὼς ἡ π[ρὸς]  
 Ἑλληνας ἡ πρὸς βαρβάρους,  
 ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου.

§ 5. (*Against the magistrates who neglect to pronounce the imprecations.*)

Οἵτινες τιμouchέοντες  
 30 τὴν ἐπαρῆν μὴ ποιήσεια-  
 ν ἐπὶ δυνάμει, καθημέν-  
 ου τῷ γῶνος Ἀνθεστηρίο-  
 ισιν καὶ Ἑρακλείοισιν  
 καὶ Δίοισιν, ἐν τῇ παρῇ-  
 35 ι ἔχουσθαι.

§ 6. (*Against those who damage the stelæ.*)

Ἄος ἂν τὰ στήλ-  
 as ἐν ἡῖσιν ἡ παρὴ γέγρ-  
 απται ἡ κατάξει ἡ φου-  
 ικήϊα ἐκκόψει(ι) ἡ ἀφανέ-  
 as ποιήσει, κείνον ἀπόλ-  
 40 λυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γ-  
 ἔνος.

In B. II. 17, 18 Böckh has περιγ[ενομένους] λοι[μ]οῦ προδο[ίη], thinking that the crime is the desertion of plague-stricken persons who have been landed somewhere away from the city, and so survived. κιζάλλης appears to be a 'brigand.' For the form θαλά[τ]ης (B. I. 23) = θαλάσσης (Röhl's conjecture), see no. 27, p. 39; but it is curious that it should be used in such a purely Greek word. κατάξει (B. I. 37), &c. are Ionic conjunctives.

## 24 [17].

### Revolt of the Helots: B. C. 464.

On the round base of the statue of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias, v. 24. 3 (see Frazer *ad loc.*). Discovered in the excavations: *Ausgrab. zu Olympia*, pl. xxxii. fig. 1; E. Curtius in *Arch. Zeit.* (1877), p. 49; Dittenberger and Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 252; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 743; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 151; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 75; *Imagines* (1898), p. 29; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4405; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 311.

[Δέξ]ο Φάν[αξ] Κρονίδα [Ζ]εῦ Ὀλύνπιε καλὸν ἄ[γ]αλμα  
 ἱλή[ω] (θυ)μῶι τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίο[ις].

Pausanias (*loc. cit.*) enables us to restore the inscription: τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Zeὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου,

μέγεθος μὲν δωδέκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἥνικα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δεύτερα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν. ἔπεστι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα  
ἰλάφ θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

In the actual inscription the *s* of the article is assimilated to the *Λ* of the following word, and, in accordance with the tendency to represent doubled letters by single ones, is not separately expressed.

Pausanias' words may refer to the 'second revolt' mentioned by Thuk. i. 101-103, or to the second Messenian War, of the seventh century. But, although the latter is perhaps more in accordance with the Greek (δεύτερα being taken with the following words), our inscription cannot be so early. It has indeed been ascribed to the sixth century by some authorities, but that does not help us out of the difficulty with regard to Pausanias. That writer's sense of style is of course not acute, and we may therefore take him to refer to the second revolt; indeed the lettering of the inscription seems more appropriate to this time than to an earlier date. The statue was probably dedicated at the beginning of the revolt (Curtius compares the Trojan *peplos*, *Il.* vi. 92) to secure the favour of Zeus to the Spartan side.

## 25 [63].

### Colonists from Opuntian Lokris at Naupaktos: about B. C. 460 (?).

A bronze tablet from *Galaxidi* (Oiantheia), formerly in the Woodhouse Collection, now in the British Museum (Walters, *B. M. Catal. of Bronzes*, no. 262). See W. Vischer, *Rhein. Mus.* (1871), pp. 39 foll.; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 321; *Imagines* (1898), p. 22; Cauer, 229; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 1478; Roberts, 231; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. gr.* pp. 180 foll.; Michel, *Recueil*, 285; Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.* (1892), pp. 291 foll.; Meister, *Ber. d. sächs. Akad.* 1895, pp. 272 foll.; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* iii. no. 334. Comp. A. Riedenauer, *Hermes*, vii. 111; Bréal, *Rev. Arch.* 1876, p. 115; Curtius, *Hermes*, x (1876), pp. 237 foll. = *Ges. Abh.* i. p. 204; Kirchhoff, *Studien* <sup>4</sup>, p. 146; Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht*, p. 62; Bannier, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1898, pp. 862 foll. We have been unable to see Girard, *de Loc. Opunt.* (1881), pp. 17 foll. and O. A. Danielsson's article in *Eranos*, iii (1898-9), pp. 49 foll.

*Obverse side.* Ἐν Ναύπακτον : κα' τῶνδε : ἁ' πιφοικία : Λο-  
ρὸν τῶν : Ἑποκναμιδίων : ἐπ' εἰ κα Ναυπάκτιος : γένηται :

Ναυπάκτιον ἐόντα : ὅπως ξένον : ὅσια λανχάνειν : καὶ θύειν :  
 ἐξεῖμεν : ἐπιτυχόντα : αἶ κα δέληται : αἶ κα δέληται : θύειν  
 καὶ λ|ανχάνειν : κῆ δάμω κῆ ροινάνων : αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος :  
 5 καταφεί. : τέλος τοῦς : ἐπιφοίρους Λορρῶν : τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων :  
 μὴ φάρειν : ἐν Λορροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις : φρίν κ' αὐ τις  
 Λορρὸς γένηται τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : αἶ | δέλητ' ἀνχωρεῖν,  
 καταλείπων : τὰ ἐν τῇ ἰστίαι παῖδα ἡβατὰν ἢ δελφεὸν : ἐξ-  
 εῖμεν ἄνευ ἐνετηρίων : αἶ κα ὕπ' ἀνάγκας ἀπελάωνται : ἐ' Ναυ-  
 πάκτω : Λορ|ροῖ τοῖ Ὑποκναμιδίοι : ἐξεῖμεν ἀνχωρεῖν : ὅπως  
 10 Φέκαστος ἦν, ἄνευ ἐ|νετηρίων : τέλος μὴ φάρειν μηδέν, ὅ τι  
 μὴ (μ)ετὰ Λορρῶν τῶν Φεσπαρίων :

Α. : Ἐνορρον τοῖς ἐπιφοίοις ἐν Ναυπακτον : μὴ ποστᾶμεν :  
 ἀ(π' Ὀ)ποντίων | τέ(χ)ναι καὶ μαχαναῖ : μηδεμίᾳ : Φερόντας  
 τὸν ὄρρον ἐξεῖμεν : αἶ κα δέ|λωνται : ἐπάγειν μετὰ τριά-  
 ροντα Φέτα : ἀπὸ τῷ ὄρρω ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ὀ|ποντίοις : Ναυ-  
 πακτίων, καὶ Ναυπακτίοις Ὀποντίοις :

15 Β. : Ὑσστισ κα λιποτελέη||ι ἐγ Ναυπάκτω : τῶν ἐπιφοίων :  
 ἀπὸ Λορρῶν εἶμεν, ἔντε κ' ἀποτείσι : τὰ νόμια Ναυπακτίοις :

Γ. : Αἶ κα μὴ γένος ἐν τῇ ἰστίαι : ἦι, ἢ ἡ χεπάμων : τῶν ἐπι-  
 φοίων : ἦι ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Λορρῶν : τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : τὸν  
 ἐπάνχισ|τον : κρατεῖν, Λορρῶν ὅπως κ' ἦι, : αὐτὸν ἰόντα, αἶ κ'  
 ἀνὴρ ἦι ἢ παῖς, : τριῶν μ|ηγῶν : αἶ δὲ μή, τοῖς Ναυπακτίοις  
 νομίοις χρῆσται. :

20 Δ. : Ἐ' Ναυπάκτω ἀνχωρεῖ||οντα : ἐν Λορροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμι-  
 δίοις : ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ : καρῦξαι ἐν τὰ|γοραῖ : κῆν Λορροῖς :  
 τοῖς(ς) Ὑποκναμιδίοις : ἐν τῇ πόλῃ, ὥ κ' ἦι, : καρῦξαι ἐν |  
 τὰγοραῖ. :

Ε. : Περροθαριᾶν : καὶ Μυσαχέων, : ἐπεὶ κα Ναυπάκτι(ο)ς :  
 γένηται|ι : αὐτός, καὶ τὰ χρήματα : τῇν Ναυπάκτῳ : τοῖς ἐν  
 Ναυπάκτῳ χρῆσται, : | τὰ δ' ἐν Λορροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις :  
 25 χρήματα τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδῖ|οις : | [Reverse side] νομίοις χρῆ-  
 σται, : ὅπως ἂ πόλις Φεκάστων νομίζει : Λορρῶν τῶν Ὑποκν-  
 αμιδίων : αἶ τις ὕπὸ τῶν νομίῳ τῶν ἐπιφοίων : ἀνχωρέη  
 Περροθαριᾶ|ν καὶ Μυσαχέων, : τοῖς αὐτῶν νομίοις : χρῆσται :  
 κατὰ πόλιν Φεκάστους. : |

Φ. : Αἶ κ' ἀδελφοὶ ἔωντι : τῷ ὕ Ναύπακτον Φοικέοντος, :  
 30 ὅπως καὶ Λορρῶ||ν : τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : Φεκάστων νόμος ἐστί, :  
 αἶ κ' ἀποθάνη, τῶν χ|ρημάτων κρατεῖν : τὸν ἐπίφοιρον, τὸ  
 κατιφόμενον κρατεῖν. : |



Z. : Τοὺς ἐπιφοίρους : ἐν Ναύπακτον : τὰν δίκαν πρόδιφον :  
 ἁρέσται πο' τοὺς δ|ικαστήρας : ἁρέσται : καὶ δόμεν : ἐν Ὀπούντι  
 κατὰ Φέος αὐταμαρδὸν : Λοφ|ρδν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων : προστάταν  
 35 καταστᾶσαι : τῶν Λοφρῶν τῶπιF||οίφωι : καὶ τῶν ἐπιφοίρων τῶι  
 Λοφρῶι, : οἴτινές κα ἴπιατες ἐντιμοι es† :

H. : Ὅσστις κ' ἀπολίπηι : πατάρα καὶ τὸ μέρος : τῶν χρη-  
 μάτων τῶι πατρί, : ἐπεὶ κ' | ἀπογένηται, : ἐξεῖμεν ἀπολαχεῖν :  
 τὸν ἐπίφοιρον ἐν Ναύπακτον. :

Θ. : Ὅσστις : κα τὰ ΦεΦαδηφότα : διαφθείρηι : τέχναι καὶ  
 μαχαναῖ : κα|ῖ μιαι, ὅ τι κα μὴ ἀνφοτάροις : δοκέηι, Ὀποντίων :  
 40 τε χιλίων : πλήθ|αι καὶ ΝαFπακτίων : τῶν ἐπιφοίρων : πλήθαι,  
 ἄτιμον εἶμεν : καὶ χρή|ματα παματοφαγείσται : τῶνκαλειμένωι :  
 τὰν δίκαν : δόμεν τὸν ἀρ|χόν, : ἐν τριάφοντ' ἀμάραις : δόμεν, :  
 αἷ κα τριάφοντ' ἀμάραι : λείπωντ|αι τᾶς ἀρχᾶς : αἷ κα μὴ  
 διδῶι : τῶι ἐνκαλειμένωι : τὰν δίκαν, : ἄτιμ|ον εἶμεν : καὶ  
 45 χρήματα παματοφαγείσται, : τὸ μέρος μετὰ Φο||ικιατᾶν : διο-  
 μόσαι ὄρρον : τὸν νόμιον : ἐν ὑδρίαν : τὰν ψάφιξ|ξι εἶμεν. :  
 Καὶ τὸ θέθμιον : τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις Λοφροῖς : ταῦτὰ τέλεον  
 εἶμεν : Χαλείοις : τοῖς σὺν Ἀντιφάται : Φοικηταῖς.

This is a copy of a law passed by the Opuntian Lokrians to regulate the precise relations which should exist between their colonists, who were leaving to settle at Naupaktos, and the old country at home. The settlers were joined by a certain number of citizens of Chaleion, a town of West Lokris. At the time of this enactment the Lokroi Opuntioi and Hypoknemidioi (or Epiknemidioi) formed one aggregate, composed of a number of separate cities, which regarded Opus as their head. The writing and style are rude (note the constant repetitions), and it is now generally agreed that the inscription dates from before B.C. 455, at which date Naupaktos was given over to the Messenians by Athens. The alphabet used is that of the Western Lokrians. The tablet must have been set up either in Naupaktos or in Chaleion, since, in the only other likely place, Opus, the clause about the colonists at Naupaktos from Chaleion would have been pointless. Hence the use of the Western alphabet. As to the cause of the settlement, Curtius argues with great plausibility that it was brought about by Korinth as a counter-stroke to Athenian

designs on that part of Greece. The counter-stroke was of course foiled by the capture of Naupaktos by Athens about B.C. 458 (Thuk. i. 103). But although the Corinthians may have welcomed the foundation of a strong anti-Athenian city in these parts, it is probable that fear of the Aitolians had much to do with the movement. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup> (1), p. 300, note 3.

The law begins without any sort of preamble, in a way that gives a shock to those used to the elaborate praescripts of Attic inscriptions; but compare, e.g., the law of Gortyna (no. 35). After the first paragraph, or rather the 'principium,' the paragraphs are numbered in the original (A, B, Γ, &c.). We will adopt these divisions in the following notes.

'Terms of colonization to (ἐν=ἐς) Naupaktos. After a Lokrian has become a citizen of Naupaktos, then, being a Naupaktian, he shall retain rights as a ξένος in E. Lokris to enjoy all privileges due to him as such, both social (δσσια) and religious (θύειν), and to take part in all sacrifices whatsoever if he visit his country, if he wishes (=βούληται), himself and his family for ever;—sacrifices, whether of the people or of brotherhoods [in *φουδάνων* the reference is to the *sacra* of the gens or of the tribe, &c. κῆ=καὶ ἐ for ἐκ]. The colonists not to pay taxes to E. Lokris, unless they return and become E. Lokrians again. If a colonist wish to return he may, if he leave an adult son or brother as head of his household, be enrolled on the E. Lokrian registers without entrance-sacrifice, at whatsoever town (δπω=δπόθεν) in E. Lokris he came from. [This seems to imply that the colonists were not merely volunteers; probably each family had to contribute its member.] Similarly if the colonists are ever ejected by enemies (or by the old citizens of Naupaktos). They are to pay taxes only as members of the W. Lokrian state (i. e. not to pay any μετοίκιον at Naupaktos, but to be full citizens).'

§ A. 'The colonists are sworn to remain for ever allied with E. Lokris: and thirty years from this swearing, the Opuntians may call upon one hundred Naupaktians to swear the oath for the colonists again, and the Naupaktians may likewise call upon the Opuntians.'

§ B. 'A colonist who leaves Naupaktos in debt to the colony, to lose his rights as a Lokrian, until the debts be paid.'

§ Γ. 'If a colonist dies, and leaves no issue to succeed him nor any heir among the colonists at Naupaktos (ἐχέπαμων = ἐπιπάμων = ἐπικληρος), then his next of kin, of whatever stock (E. or W. Lokrian) he be, may claim the estate, if he appear in person within three months of the death of the owner: otherwise the property must fall under the usual Naupaktian laws for such cases.'

§ Δ. 'A colonist returning from Naupaktos must notify the fact by the herald in the *agora* of Naupaktos, and in the town to which he belongs in E. Lokris' (ᾧ = ὅθεν).

§ Ε. This refers to two gentes (?) of E. Lokris, or possibly to two classes of colonists of a different social standing from the rest. It is evident that these two gentes or classes stood in some respects on a different footing from the other E. Lokrians, but whether the difference lay in special privileges or in certain disqualifications, does not appear. Whatever their peculiar position was, it was not to follow them to Naupaktos: it had to do with the possession and inheritance of property. Αὐτός = 'possessor,' as opposed to τὰ χρήματα, 'his possessions'; ὑπὸ τῶν νομ. τῶν ἐπ. = in accordance with the law of the colonists (viz. the law here laid down in §§ B and Δ).

§ F. 'If a colonist at Naupaktos leave brothers in E. Lokris, and one of his brothers dies, the colonist-brother is to take possession of the property—i. e. his share of it.'

§ Ζ. 'Colonists are to have precedence in the court [πο' τοὺς δικαστ. ἁρέσται is explanatory of the preceding words]; a Hypoknemidian Lokrian is to answer to an action against himself (κατὰ Φέος) without a day's delay. The magistrates are to appoint προστάται, an E. Lokrian προστάτης for the colonists, and a Naupaktian προστάτης for the E. Lokrians; these prostatai are to be ἐντιμοί, in full enjoyment of civic rights.' [προστάτης is used in a sense similar to the Attic—the representative of a metoikos.]

§ Η. 'A colonist who leaves a father behind him, from whom he has expectations, shall be entitled to his share (ἀπολαχεῖν) upon the father's death.'

§ Θ. 'These statutes (*FeFadhφότα*, pf. from *ἀνδάνω*, cf. τὸ ἄδος, no. 27, l. 19) under no pretext to be broken, under the heaviest penalties (*παματοφαγείσται* clearly = *δημοσιεύεσθαι*), unless a majority both of the Thousand in Opus and of the Colonists in Naupaktos are agreed. The magistrate is to grant a hearing to any one accusing another of a breach of them within thirty days (if so many remain of his year of office), or lose his civil rights, his goods, share of land (*μέρος*) and slaves. The dikasts to give their vote by ballot. The above regulations with regard to colonists from E. Lokris are to hold good *mutatis mutandis* for colonists from Chaleion under Antiphates.'

This free translation will explain most of the difficulties. It seems as if both at Naupaktos and in E. Lokris the chief legislative power lay with a kind of limited *ἐκκλησία* of one thousand citizens (*χιλίων πλῆθς*), as in Epizephyrian Lokris (Polyb. xii. 16), reminding one of the 'five thousand' at Athens under the oligarchy (Thuk. viii. 72, &c.). This tablet doubtless gives a copy of the original preserved at Opus, and the fact that it was found not far from Chaleion throws some light on the last sentence (cf. no. 44). But this last sentence, as we have seen, did not occur on the original at Opus. The fact that the Chaleian colonists are called *Φοικηταί* proves that it was written at Naupaktos: 'colonists are called *ἄποικοι* in relation to their old home, *ἐποικοι* in relation to that which they seek, and *οἰκήτορες*, *οἰκηταί* κ.τ.λ. in relation to the city in which they then reside' (Meister, p. 327).

## 26 [19].

Activity of Athens in Egypt, Kypros, Aigina, Megara, &c.

B. C. 459-458.

A large marble slab (the 'Nointel Marble') in the Museum of the Louvre. *Στοιχῆδόν*. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 165; Rose, *Inscr. Graecae*, pl. xiv. p. 105; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 433; Froehner, *I. G. du Louvre*, 112; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 9; Roberts, 69; Michel, *Recueil*, 597. For the heading of the inscription see Thuk. i. 104, 105; Grote, pt. 2, ch. 45; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup> (1), p. 305. M. H. de Villefosse has kindly provided an impression of ll. 50 ff.

## Ἐρεχθίδος

[Ὶ]οῖδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ ἐν Αἰγ[ύπτῳ] ἐν Φοινίκῃ  
ἐν Ἀλιεῦσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Μεγαρο[ῖ], τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐναυτοῦ.

(Here follows a list of 168 names.)

5	{ στ[ρα]τηγῶν	Φάνυλλος	Ἄκρυπτος
	{ Φ[ρύνι]χος	Χ[ρό]μιος	Τιμοκράτης
	Π[αντ]αλέων	Ε[ύγ]εῖτων	Ἀρχέλας
	Πολύστρατος	Ἀρ[χ]ιππος	Εὐθυκράτης
	[Δρ]ακοντίδης	Λυ[σ]ικλῆς	Πατροκλείδης[s]
10	. . μόστ[ρ]ατος	Κέ[λ]ευσος	Ἀλκμεωνίδης[s]
	. . μέας	Εὐ[θ]ύδημος	Γλαύκων
	[Εὐ]κλείδης	Δίκαιος	Δημόνικος
	. . κράτης	Φιλ[ῖ]νος	Ἀναχσιδωρος
	[Χα]ιρέδημος	Καλλικλῆς	Γλαύκων
15	. . ησίας	Ναυσικλῆς	Προκλῆς
	. . ἥσανδρος	[Τ]ιμησίθεος	Ἀντιφῶν
	[Λυ]κόφρων	[Μυ]ησιγένης	Ἀναχσίλα[s]
	[Ὶ]απολλόδωρος	Π[ο]λυκλῆς	Ἀρχέπολι[s]
	[Ὶ]ριστοτέλης	Ἀλ[ε]χσίας	Καλλέας
20	[Π]ρωτίας	Ἀμύδριππος	Θαλιάρχος[s]
	Δράκαλος	Ἀπολλόδωρος	Φιλώνυχο[s]
	Μηχανίων	Γοργίας	Εὐκλείδης[s]
	Φιλιππίδης	Νόθαρχος	Διόδωρος
	Τιμογένης	Παρμον[ί]δης	Νίκαρχος
25	Χαρίσανδρος	Βάκων	Ἐπιτέλης
	[Μ]ενεκλῆς	Πίθων	Κύβων
	[Μ]ελάνωπος	Λυσίας	Χ[α]ιρίας
	[Κ]λεόνβροτος	Σώστρατος	Δημήτριος[s]
	[Ὶ]ριστοκλείδης	Φιλῖνος	Ἀρκεσίλας
30	[Θ]ουκυδίδης	Φίλαιθος	Εὐθόινος
	Εὐθύδημος	Φιλέταιρος	Δημήτριος .
	[Κ]αλλικράτης	Σωτέλης	Γόργων
	Ἀφσήφης	Λυσίας	Στράτ[ω]ν
	[Ὶ]ριστείδης	Ἀριστογένης	Ἀρισ[τ]οφάνης[s]
35	[Φ]ιλόδημος	Φιλῖνος	Γλα[ύ]κων
	[Κ]ηφισόδοτος	Διότιμος	Φυσ[ων]ίδης
	[Σ]ώφιλος	Καλλωνίδης	Ἀγ[ν]όδημος
	[Ὶ]ντιμένης	Καλλίχσενος	Διοκλῆς

	[Ἐ]παίνετος	Δεινίας	Φανόστρατο[s]
40	Ἐργαῖος	Σμίκυθος	Εὐμήνιος
	Διογένης	Τιμόδημος	Θε[ό]δωρος
	Φρύνος	Λύσις	. . . ὕλεως
	[Κ]τησιάδης	Ἀκεσίας	[Κέ]ρδων
	[Κ]όροιβος	Ἐπιχάρης	[Ἐπ]ιχάρης
45	[Κ]ράτυλλος	Ἱερώνυμος	Ε[ὐ]δοχσος
	[Σ]υνφέρμιος	Ἀναχσίλας	Π[ο]λύζηλος
	[Ν]ικίας	Χαιρίας	Γ[λ]αυκίας
	Λυσικλείδης	Ἡρακλείδης	Ἡριγένης
	Φροῦραρχος	Ἀγασικλῆς	Ἀντιχάρης
50	Χα[ρίσ]ανδρος	Ἀλκᾶς	Φιλιστίδης[s]
	Ὁ[λυμπ]ιάρατος	Κηφισόδοτος	Ἀμφικλείδ[ης]
	Σ . . . ος	Καλλικλῆς	Φρούρος
	Μνη[σ]ίφιλος	Κηφισόδωρος	Τίτων
	Σωσίας	Νουμήνιος	Εὐβιος
55	Ἀρχίτρος	Χσενόφιλος	Καλλίβ[ιος]
	Λυκίτρος	Ὑπέρβιος	Σμῖκρο[s]
	Καλλίας	Ἄγνω	Νεαῖος
	Μνησιγένης	Πολύχσενος	Ἐργοτέ[λης]
	Σίκων	Ἐρχσιμένης	Φωκίων
60	Ἀμφικλήδης	Νίκων	Ἀραιθ[ος]
	Χσένυλλος		

{ Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 { Τελένικος  
 { μάντις

(Appended at the bottom of the left hand column are 8 names inserted by another hand soon after the erection of the monument.)

	{ στρατηγός	{ τοχσόται· Φρύνος
	{ Ἱπποδάμας	{ Ταῦρος
	Εὐθύμαχος	{ Θεόδωρος
65	Εὐμηλος	70 { Ἀλεχσίμαχος.
	Ἀνδροσθένης	

This is evidently one of ten similar stelai for each of the tribes; for the Athenians in battle were drawn up *κατὰ φυλάς* (Plut. *Aristid.* 5, *Cim.* 17; Lysias, *pro Mantith.* 15; Theo-

phrastos, *Char.* δειλός *ad fin.*), and those who fell were buried κατὰ φυλάς (Thuk. ii. 34). Each tribe furnished one of the strategoi (Arist. 'Aθ. Πολ. 61. 1; Plut. *Cim.* 8). Our inscription gives us the names of two, Phrynichos (l. 6) and Hippodamas (l. 63). The latter was presumably Phrynichos' successor; for Droysen's suggestion (*Hermes*, 1875, p. 8), that though a member of the Erechtheid tribe he acted as strategos of some other, cannot be accepted.

## 27 [21].

Halikarnassos in the time of Herodotos; Lygdamis,  
B. C. 460-455.

A stelè of white marble, cut in two down the middle, and somewhat imperfect at bottom; discovered by Sir Charles Newton at Halikarnassos, and now in the British Museum. Newton, *History of Discoveries*, i. pl. 85; ii. pt. 2, p. 671; *Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit.* Dec. 18, 1867; Sauppe, *Götting. Nachrichten* (1863), p. 303; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 500; *Imagines* (1898), p. 53; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 491; Comparetti, *Mél. Graux*, p. 175; Roberts, 145; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 238; Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 4 foll.; Th. Reinach, *Rev. des Ét. Gr.* i (1888), pp. 27 foll.; R. Meister, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1888, 1467; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* pp. 1-9; Hirschfeld, *Gr. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 886 (with a facsimile of Lord Charlemont's copy made when the stone was in a better condition); Rühl, *Philologus*, xli. pp. 54 foll.; Swoboda, *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* xx. pp. 115 foll.; Kaibel, *Hermes*, 1890, p. 100; Michel, *Recueil*, 451; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 10; O. Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 72, no. 171; B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Crit.* 1899, p. 405. The form τ in the names 'Αλικαρνατέων, &c., is equivalent to σσ; cp. no. 23, B. l. 23, and see B. Keil, *Hermes*, 1894, p. 270.

- § 1. Τάδε ὁ σύλλο[γ]ος ἐβουλεύσατο  
ὁ 'Αλικαρνατ[έ]ων καὶ Σαλμακι-  
τέων καὶ Λύγδαμις ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ[ι]  
ἀγορῇ, μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος πεμ-  
5 πτῇ ἱσταμένον, ἐπὶ Λέοντος πρυ-  
ταν[εύ]οντος τοῦ 'Οατάπιος κ[α]-  
[ι] Σαρπη[λ]λου τοῦ 'Οεκύλω νε-  
[ωπι]οῦ. § 2. τ[ο]ὺς μῆμονας μὴ παρ[α]-  
δίδο[ν]αι μήτε γῆν μήτε οἴκ[ι]-  
10 α] τοῖς μῆμοσιν ἐπὶ 'Απολλω-  
νίδεω τοῦ Λυγδάμιος μνημονε-  
ύοντος καὶ Παναμύω τοῦ Κασβώ-  
λλιος, καὶ Σαλμακιτέων μνη-

- μονενόντων Μεγαβάτεω τοῦ Ἀ-  
 15 φυάσιος καὶ Φορμίωνος τοῦ Π[α]-  
 νάτιος. § 3. ἦν δέ τις θέλῃ δικάζε-  
 σθαι περὶ γῆς ἢ οἰκίων ἐπικαλ[ε]-  
 τω ἐν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα μηνσὶν ἀπ' οὗ τ-  
 ὁ ἄδος ἐγένετο· νόμῳ δὲ κατὰ π[ε]-  
 20 ρ νῦν ὀρκώ[ι]σ[αι] τοὺς δικαστάς· ὃ τ[ι]  
 ἂν οἱ μνήμονες εἰδέωσιν, τοῦτο  
 καρτερὸν εἶναι. § 4. ἦν δέ τις ὕστερον  
 ἐπικαλῇ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν  
 ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα μηνῶν, ὅρκον εἶναι τ-  
 25 ῶι νεμομένῳ τῇ γῇ ἢ τὰ οἰκ-  
 [ι]α· ὀρκοῦν δὲ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἡμί-  
 [ε]κτον δεξαμένους, τὸν δὲ ὅρκον εἶ-  
 [ν]αι παρῶντος τοῦ ἐνεστηκότος· κ-  
 αρτεροὺς δ' εἶναι γῆς καὶ οἰκίων οἵτινες  
 30 τότε εἶχον, ὅτε Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Πανα-  
 μύης ἐμνημόνεον, εἰ μὴ ὕστερο-  
 ν ἀπεπέρασαν. § 5. τὸν νόμον τούτου  
 ἦν τις θέλῃ συγχέαι ἢ προθήτα-  
 [ι] ψήφον ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸν νόμο-  
 35 ν τούτου, τὰ ἐόντα αὐτοῦ πεπρήσθω  
 καὶ τῶπόλλωνος εἶναι ἱερά, καὶ α-  
 ὑτὸν φεύγειν αἰεὶ. ἦν δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτ-  
 ῶι ἄξια δέκα στατήρων, αὐτὸν [π]-  
 επρήσθαι ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ καὶ μη[δ]-  
 40 αμὰ κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς Ἀλικαρν-  
 ησσόν. § 6. Ἀλικαρνασσέων δὲ τῶς σ-  
 υμπάντων τοῦ[ν]τωι ἐλεύθερον εἶ[ν]-  
 ναι, ὃς ἂν ταῦτα μὴ παραβαλεῖν κατ' οὗ-  
 περ τὰ ὅρκια ἔταμον καὶ ὡς γέγραπ[τ]-  
 45 αι ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνί[ω]ι, ἐπικαλεῖν.

Lygdamis, the grandson of Artemisia, was one of the dynasts of Asia Minor whose rule survived, for a time, the Persian overthrow. Suidas (*s. v.* Ἡρόδοτος) tells us that Lygdamis put to death Panyasis the Epic poet, and drove Herodotos the poet's nephew into exile. Subsequently a revolution took place at Halikarnassos, which ended in the expulsion of Lygdamis and the return of Herodotos. Afterwards



the historian left his city for the second time, and ultimately joined the Athenian colony to Thurioi in B.C. 443. As Halikarnassos appears in the earliest 'Quota-list,' B.C. 454 (no. 33), Lygdamis cannot have been expelled later than B.C. 455, nor can the change have taken place much earlier. We may conjecturally connect this document with the life of Herodotos by dating it somewhere about B.C. 460-455, in the very year in which the revolution took place, but before Lygdamis quitted the city. The exiles had returned, the struggle was over, and the republicans and the Lygdamis party had sworn an agreement with each other which was recorded in the temple of Apollo (§ 6, ὅρκια ἔταμον, κ.τ.λ.). But the republicans wished to recover their lands and houses, which had been confiscated and held 'in chancery' in the hands of the yearly board called οἱ μνήμονες, 'Registrars' (Arist. *Pol.* vii, 8, 1321 b 34 foll.; see also Swoboda, pp. 122 foll.). Their claim is met by the present law. The fact that no definite mention is made of any recent political revolution is to be explained by the pacific nature of this measure.

§ 1. A meeting (whether an extraordinary one or not is uncertain) is called in the 'Sacred Agora' (its locality is unknown), where the citizens of Halikarnassos and Salmakis on the one hand, and Lygdamis on the other, take counsel. If the meeting is a regular one, and σύλλογος is simply equivalent to βουλή, we find two communities with only one council, but separate magistrates, like the various communities which made up the state of Rhodes. 'Αλικαρνασσέων τῶς συμπάντων (l. 41) then means the combined communities. Kaibel holds that the Ionic element was furnished by Salmakis, and that this element so far prevailed that the Ionic dialect was the official language of the whole city, which was officially called 'Αλικαρνησός (l. 41), while the Dorian inhabitants continued to call themselves 'Αλικαρνασσεῖς. Unfortunately, Lord Charlemont's copy gives 'Αλικαρνασσέων τῶς συμπάντων, where the *whole* community is intended, so that this explanation of the Ionic dialect, which is for other reasons improbable, must be discarded. Nevertheless it remains very curious how completely Ionicized the Dorian colony of Halikarnassos had thus early become—hence the Ionic of Herodotos. The position of

the tyrant Lygdamis in relation to the legislative assembly is paralleled, as Swoboda has shown, by later examples, especially from the Hellenistic age.

§ 2. It is decided that the board of *μνήμονες* just expiring shall not hand over any lands or houses to the incoming board. In other words, the returned exiles are to have them back. Lygdamis the father of Apollonides may be a kinsman of the tyrant; Panyassis is possibly the uncle of Herodotos (but the name is common). § 3. If several claimants apply for the same property, their claim must be entered within eighteen months of the passing of this law, and the dikasts are to administer the oath (to the *μνήμονες* ?); no point which the *μνήμονες* declare to be within their own knowledge is to be called in dispute. For *ἄδος* cp. *E. M. s. v. ἄδον*; Hesych. *s. v. ἄδημα*, *ἄδος*· *ψήφισμα*, *δόγμα*; and cp. no. 25, § Θ. The *iota adscriptum* in *ὀρκῶ ι σ[αι]*, is probably a mere blunder of the stone-cutter. § 4. If a claim is made after the prescribed time, the owner in possession is to take oath, in the presence of the claimant (*τοῦ ἐνεστηκότος*), that he is the rightful owner: such oath to be administered by a court of dikasts, who are to have  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a stater for their trouble. In all cases, whoever is proved to have been in possession under the *μνήμονες* Apollonides and Panamytes, he is to be regarded as the lawful owner—unless (of course) he has alienated (*ἀπεπέρασαν*) the property since. § 5. This law to be for ever binding and unalterable. § 6. Any citizen, who himself keeps it, may bring an action against him who attempts to bring about the abrogation of the law. *τ[ούτ]φ*, sc. *τῷ νόμῳ*. The genitive *Ἀλικαρναστέων* is partitive after *ὅς ἄν*: *ἐλεύθερον* is masculine.

## 28 [22].

### Rise of Athens: Battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

Five fragments of marble. *Στοιχιδόν*. (a) Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abh.* ix. 389; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 107; (b) *Archaeologia*, ii. pp. 216 foll., now existing somewhere in England, one would be glad to know where; (c) discovered on the Akropolis near the Parthenon; (d) and (e) *C. I. A.* i. 441; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 36; Roberts, 77; (d) in private possession at Athens, Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, 97 n; *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 107. These four in Prellwitz, *Gr. Dialekt-*

*Inscr.* 3266; Michel, *Recueil*, 611; Röhrl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 66, no. 6. (e) in *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 132.

<i>a</i>	
[—υυ ἐν Ταν]άγραι Λα[κεδαιμονι —υυ —]	
— — — ι πένθο[s — — ]	
— — — os 'Αν[τι — — — ]	
— — — Θε — — — ]	
— — — Ε — — — ]	
— — — Ο — — — ]	
<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>s</i>	— — — —
[Φ]οῖνιξ	. . . . . τριος
[Φ]ιλίας	[Α]ριστῶν
[Β]ράχας	[Σ]φενδογίων
5 Τελέσστας	5 [Λ]υκῖνος
Δαμοφάνης	[Φ]αναξίλας
Θυμάρης	[Δ]έρκετος
Δαϊκλῆς	[Ε]χέμενης
Σύλιχος	[Κλέοβ]ις ?
10 Δέρκετος	10 — — — —
Λυροδόρκας	
Κλέων	
Κρατιάδας	
[Α]λσχύλος	
15 [Εὐ]αρχ[ῆ]δ[ας]	
— — — —	
<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>
Αἰσ[χ] — — — ]	— —
Δαμ[α]ῖ[ι — — — ]	. . . . . ο — —
Παν[θ]ά[η]τος ?	[Δά]ιος
Δωρό[ι — — — ]	[Πύ]ρ(ρ)ος
5 Μῦς Π — — (vel Μυσπ — —)	5 [Τ]μοσ[θένης]
'Αρτε[μ] — — — ]	[᾽Α]γίς
— — —	[Μ]οσ[χ] — —
	— — —

Neither the characters nor the names are Attic, and Böckh, before the discovery of (*a*), ingeniously identified this with the tomb of the Kleonaians who marched with the Argives and

assisted the Athenians at the battle of Tanagra. Pausanias saw their tomb in Kerameikos (i. 29. 5 and 7), ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεῖνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες . . . μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων ἐν Τανάγρα γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης ἀφίκοντο Ἀθηναῖοις Ἀργεῖοι βοηθοῦντες· καὶ παραντίκα μὲν ἔχοντας πλέον τοὺς Ἀργείους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφὲς τῆς νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπήρξε κρατῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους: cp. Thuk. i. 107. Two of the fragments (*b* and *c*) have been found on the Akropolis. The provenance of the others is not known; but they probably belong to the same stone, and so many stones have been transported in Athens, that we must not conclude that a copy of the memorial must have existed on the Akropolis. On the right of *b* is a fragment of a metrical epitaph.

## 29.

## Battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

On a marble fragment once built into the wall of a house in the ὁδὸς Μουσαίου in Athens, now lost. Στοιχηδόν. Published without identification by U. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 1677, from a copy by A. Postolakkas; restored by A. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. pp. 221 foll.

[Χαίρετε ἀριστῆες πολέμου μέγα κ]ῦδο[s] ἔχοντες,  
 Κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων ἔχσοχοι ἱππ]οσύνα[ι,  
 ὅι ποτε καλλιχόρου περὶ πατ]ρίδος ὦ[λέσαθ' ἥβην  
 πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μ]αρνάμε[νοι.

The restoration is effected by the help of an epigram (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 254) attributed to Simonides. Wilhelm gives good reasons for attributing the inscription to a date about the middle of the fifth century, and no event of that time tallies with the circumstances described in the epigram so well as the battle of Tanagra. If he is right, the attribution to Simonides, who died in B. C. 468, falls to the ground. The use of the Doric *a* in ἱπποσύνα (proved by the inscription) and in Ἑλλάνων (preserved by the MS.) is analogous to the Doric vocalization common in lyric poetry.

## 30.

## Battle of Tanagra, B. C. 457.

A marble slab in three fragments from Olympia. Purgold, *Arch. Ztg.* xl (1882), pp. 179 foll., no. 435; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* Add. no. 26 a; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 253; Blass, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3157; E. Hoffmann, *Syll. Epigr.* 312.

[Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέα]ν ἔχει· ἐγ δὲ [Τανάγρας  
τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμ]μαχία τ' ἀν[έθεν,  
δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθ[η]ναίων καὶ [Ιάνων,  
τὰν δεκάταν νίκας ἑίν]εκα τοῦ πο[λέμου].  
5 . . . . . Κορ[ινθ]ι - - - -  
. . . . . ρ - - - - -

The epigram is quoted by Pausanias (v. 10. 4, where see Frazer's note) from the dedication made by the Lakedaimonians and their allies from the spoils of the battle of Tanagra. The writing is however Korinthian. It has been suggested that the 'shield,' as Pausanias calls it, may have been made by a Korinthian metal-worker (see l. 5). The object was really a φιάλη (see Benndorf, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. p. 9). The lines following the epigram may have contained a list of the allies, or some statement regarding the setting up of the inscription. Pausanias' statement that the epigram was on the 'shield' itself is characteristically loose: it was on the stone base. His version, so far as it can be compared with the part actually preserved, differs in v. 4 in having τῷ for τοῦ.

## 31 [10].

## Argive victory over the Korinthians: about B. C. 456?

On a bronze 'Korinthian' helmet from Olympia, discovered in the Alpheios in 1795: now in the British Museum (Newton, *Gr. Inscr. in B. M.* ii. 2, no. 137; Walters, *Catal. of Bronzes*, no. 251). See Rose, *Inscr. Graecae*, 4, pl. viii; Böckh, *C. I. G.* 29, and *addend.* p. 885; Kirchhoff, *Studien*, p. 98; Röhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 32; *Imagines* (1898), p. 66; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inscriptionen von Olympia*, no. 250; Prellwitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3263; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 308; Michel, *Recueil*, 1087; Roberts, 75. The line is quasi-metrical, like many early inscriptions, and forms an irregular senarius.

Τάργ[εῖ]οι ἀνέθεν τῷ Δι[ε]ὶ τῶν Κορινθίων.

It is impossible definitely to connect this inscription with any known event; but on epigraphical grounds it may be

placed about the middle of the fifth century, and accordingly we may connect it with the fighting which took place in Argolis after the battle of Oinophyta. Among the events of this period the mysterious battle of Oinoe and the capture of Troizen by the Athenians must probably be reckoned (see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 323); and the helmet in question as probably represents some minor conflict between the Argives and a Korinthian army fighting on the Lakedaimonian side.

## 32 [23].

Athens and her subject-allies : Constitution of Erythrai  
in Ionia, B. C. 455-450.

A large marble found near the Erechtheion, published by Böckh, *C. I. G.* 73<sup>b</sup> (Addend. pp. 890 foll.), but now apparently lost; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 9. Unfortunately the only copies existing are very inaccurate, so that much doubt hangs over the restoration of many particular words, although the general tenor is certain enough. Erythrai is named in the quota-list for B. C. 450 (Köhler, *Urkund.* p. 15), but the date of its subjection is not known. Thasos was reduced B. C. 463, and all the allies, except Chios and Lesbos, had been reduced by the time of the Samian War B. C. 440. The reduction of Erythrai falls between 463 and 450, but the characters of our inscription are hardly earlier than 455. The text is in the main that of Kirchhoff; cp. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 8; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 5; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup> (1), pp. 225 foll.; P. Fischer, *Quaest. de Athen. Sociis historicae*, Bonn, 1887 (pp. 17 foll.). The restoration of ll. 33, 34 is suggested by Dr. Wilhelm.

v. 1. To this effect: [Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. ἡ δέῖνα ἐπρυτάνευε, ὁ δέῖνα ἐγραμμάτευε, ὁ δέῖνα] ἐπεστάται. [ - - εἶπε].

The decree (α, vs. 2-7): [Ἐρυθραίων ἀπάγειν - - ἐς Παναθή-  
ναια τὰ μεγάλα ἄχσ[ι]α μὴ | ἐλάττω]ος ἡ τριῶν μυνῶν. καὶ νέμειν  
Ἐρυθραίων τ[ο]ῖς παροῦσι τῶν | κρεῶν τ[ο]νδ[ε] ἱεροπο[ι]οῦδ[ε] δραχμῶν  
5 ἑκάστωι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπάγηται μὲν ἱερ[ο]εῖα, μὴ ἄχσ[ι]α δὲ τριῶν  
μυνῶν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημ[ο]νία, πρίασθαι [μὲν τοὺς | βοῶντα]ς ἱερεῖα, τὸν  
[δὲ δῆ]μον τὸν Ἐρυθραίων δφείλειν ἀναγράφ[ε]σθαι. | τῶν δὲ κ[ρε]ῶν  
ἑσ[τ]ιῶσθαι ἅλ[λ]ον τῶν βουλομένων].

(b, vs. 7-28). Ἐρυθραίων ἀπ[ὸ] κ[υ]νῶν βουλὴν εἶναι εἴκοσι  
καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας. τὸν δὲ [κνα]μ[ε]νθέντα δο[κ]ιμ[α]ζ[ε]ιν ἐν τῇ  
10 [β]ουλῇ· καὶ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι βουλευ[ε]ιν μηδὲ [ἑ]ν[α] ὀλειςζον ἡ τριά-  
κοντα ἔτη γεγονότα. δῖωχσιν δ' εἶναι [κατὰ | τ]ῶν ἐλε[γ]χ[ο]μένων  
βουλευεῖν δὲ μὴ ἐντὸς τεττάρων ἐτῶν. [ . . ἀ]ποκναμεῦσαι [δ]ὲ καὶ

καταστήσαι νῦν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς ἐ[πι|σκ]όπους καὶ [τὸν] φρ[ού]-  
 ραρχον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν [φρούρ]|αρχον. [τῶ]μ  
 15 βουλευσόντων ἕκαστον Ἐρυθραῖσι π[ρὶ]ν εἰσεῖναι [ἐς τὴν || ἀρχ]ὴν  
 ὁμνύει [μὲν Δ']ία κα[ὶ] Ἀπόλλω καὶ Δῆμη[τρα], ἐπαρώμενο[ν] ἐχσώ]-  
 λειαν ἑα[υτῶ]ι ἐπιποροῦντι καὶ παι[σ]ιν ἑαυτοῦ· [τὸ]ν δὲ ὄρκον  
 ὁ[μ]νύει κατὰ ἱερῶν καιομένων. τὴν δὲ βουλὴν [τῇ]ν βουλ[ε]ύ-  
 ουσαν τα[ύ]τα ἀναγκάζειν. ἐὰν δὲ μή, εἶναι ζημιῶσαι [χι]λ[ί]α[ι]σιν  
 ὀρ[α]χμήσι | ἡ] ὅ ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρυθραίων αὐτοὺς καταβαλεῖν  
 20 [φσ]ηφίσῃται. || ὁμνύει δ[ὲ] τὰδε [τῇ]ν βουλὴν—

βουλεύσω ἑὼς ἂν [δύ]νω[μ]α[ι] ἄ[ρ]ιστο[α]  
 καὶ δικά[ι]ο[τα]τα Ἐρυθραίων τῶι πλήθει  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν [χσ]υ[μ]ά[χ]ων. [κ]αὶ  
 οὐκ [ἀποσ]τήσομαι Ἀθηναίων τοῦ π[λ]ή-  
 θους οὐδὲ [τῶ]ν χσυνμάχων τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὗτ' ἄ[λ]λοι πε-  
 [ρί]σομαι. | οὗδ' αὐτομολή[σω] οὗτ' αὐτὸς  
 ἐγὼ οὔ[τ]ι' ἄλλωι [π]εί[σο]μαι οὐδὲ ἑνί. ||  
 25 οὐδὲ τῶν φ[ε]υγόν[των] [κατ]αδέχομαι οὐδὲ  
 ἑνα, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὗτ' ἄλλωι πείσο-  
 [μ]α[ι], τῶν ἐς Μήδους φυγ[ό]ντων, ἄνευ  
 τῆς γνώμης τῆς Ἀθη[ν]αίων καὶ τοῦ [δ]-  
 ῆμου. οὐδὲ τῶν μενόντων ἐχσελῶ [ἄ]-  
 νευ τῆς γνώμης τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ  
 δήμου.

(c, vs. 28-38) ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποκτείνει [Ἐρυ]θραῖος ἑτέρον  
 30 Ἐρυθραῖον, τεθ[ν]άτω. ἐὰν [δέ] τοῦ [ἀ]ειφύγια || καταγνοσθῇ,  
 φευγέτω ἅμα καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χσυνμαχί[δα] | καὶ τὰ χρήματα  
 δημόσια ἔσ[τω] Ἐρυθραίων. ἐὰν δέ τις [ἑ]αλῶι προ[δι]δοὺς το[ῖ]ς  
 τυράννοις τῇ πόλιν [τ]ῶν Ἐρυθραίων καὶ [αὐτ]ὸς [ν]ηποιεῖ  
 τεθνάτω [κ]αὶ παῖδες ὅι ἐχς ἐκείνου, ἐὰν μὴ [οἰκείως νελ]  
 35 ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντες ὅι παῖδες ὅι ἐχς [ἐ]κείνου ἐς τὸν δῆμον |  
 τὸν Ἐρυθραῖον καὶ [τὸ]ν Ἀθηναίων ἀποφανθῶσιν. τὰ δὲ χρή-  
 ματα [τοῦ ἑαλόντος] καταθ[έν]τας ἔχειν τοῖς π[α]ῖδας τὸ ἥμισυ  
 - | - ἔσθω κατ[ὰ] ταῦτα καὶ - - - ὄντων Ἀθηναίων - - -  
 Ἐρυθραῖσι - - -

In the concluding passage there appears to be mention of a *τόσσαρχος* and *φρούριον*, but all attempts at restoration are hopeless.

(a) Regulates the contributions to the Panathenaic festival (cp. no. 41). (b) Regulates the number and mode of election of the Councillors, and prescribes the oath to be sworn by them. In constituting a government upon the Athenian model, the *βουλή* was the most important feature. For the *ἐκκλησία* included, without restriction, all who had the franchise; but the senate met daily, had the power of initiating (*προβούλευμα*), and through the *πρυτάνεις* controlled the *ἐκκλησία*, and yet being elected by lot (*κυαμεῦσαι*) was a thoroughly democratic institution. On the employment of oaths and imprecations in Greek politics see no. 23. A permanent garrison (consisting partly at least of *τοξόται*) is established in the city, and its commandant superintends the constitution not merely of the first Council, but also of each successive one. In the former task, if *ἐπισκόπους* is rightly restored (ll. 12, 13), he is aided by civil magistrates sent out by Athens and answering, as Theophrastos (Harpokr. s. v. *ἐπίσκοπος*) tells us, to the Spartan *ἀρμοσταί*. (c) Gives the sanction. With the whole inscription comp. no. 40.

## 33 [24].

List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the year  
B.C. 454.

The inscriptions commonly spoken of as 'Tribute-lists' fall into two classes. (1) Decrees of new assessment: see no. 64; (2) The accounts of the quota of Tribute yearly dedicated to the goddess as an *ἀπαρχή* or first-fruits, her share being  $\frac{1}{3}$ th or *μῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντου* (see *C. I. A. i.* 260). The lists of this latter sort were inscribed upon blocks and slabs of marble, many fragments of which have been found on the Akropolis, and have been pieced together by the successive labours of Rangabé (*Antiq. Hellén.* i. pp. 236 foll.), Böckh (*Staatsh.* ii. pp. 332 foll.), Köhler (*Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisch. Bundes*, Berl. 1870), and Kirchhoff (*C. I. A. i.* 226-272). Six of these marbles have been thus restored, which give the yearly accounts with scarcely any break from B.C. 454 (the year in which the common funds were probably transferred from Delos to Athens) down to B.C. 421. The lists are a good deal broken in places, but as the same names recur, and often in a similar order, many of the lacunae have been filled up with certainty. A peculiar interest attaches to the first list drawn up by the Hellenotamiai after the transfer of the Fund to Athens, which is here subjoined, from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A. i.* 226; Köhler, *Urk.* p. 6; cp. Michel, *Recueil*, 556, and Add. p. 948. Στοιχῆδον.



[\*Αἶδε τῶν φόρων τῶν παρ]ὰ τῶν <sup>†</sup>[Ε]λλ[ηνοτ]αμιῶν, <sup>†</sup>οἷς . . . . .  
 . . . . . ἔγραμμάτενε, τοῖς] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθη[σα]ν [ἀπαρχαὶ τ-  
 ῆι θεῶι ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος ἄ]ρχοντος Ἀ[θην]αίοις, μνᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλά-  
 ντου].

(Column 1 on the marble.)

6 b ----- . . . . . ἔ]χς  
 [- - - - Δ]ΔΔΤΤΤ||  
 - - - - ις ΗΓΤ|||  
 [Χερρονησ]ῆται Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ  
 ----- ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΤΤΤ|||

(Column 2 on the marble.)

12 ----- |||  
 - - - - Γ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗ  
 - - - - [Η]ΗΗΗ  
 15 ----- Η  
 - - - - Γ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΗ  
 - - - - ΔΙ  
 - - - - Η[Η<sup>Π</sup>]ΔΔΤ

*lacuna.*

[Πεπαρήθιοι ?] ΗΗΗ  
 [Κολοφών]ιοι ΗΗΗ  
 Νοτ[ι]ῆς ΔΔΔΤΤΤ||  
 Διοσερέιται ΔΓΤ|||  
 5 b Σπαρτώλιοι ΗΗ  
 Αἰραῖοι ΗΗΗ  
 Λωδίων Οἰᾶται <sup>Π</sup>Γ  
 Ἀστακηνοί Η<sup>Π</sup>  
 Νεοπολῖται <sup>Π</sup>

10 b Μαϊάνδριοι <sup>Π</sup>ΔΓΤ|||

(Column 3 on the marble.)

5 [Μαρ]ωνῖται Η<sup>Π</sup>  
 [Λ]ῆνδοιοι <sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[-]  
 [Οἰ]βαῖοι ἐν Ἰ-  
 κάρωι ΗΔΔΔΤΤΤ[||]  
 Ἡσσιοι Η  
 10 Νεάνδρεια ΔΔΔΤΤΤ[||]

Δαμπώνεια ΔΓΤ|||[[I]

<sup>†</sup>Αλικαρ-

νασσης Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΓΤ|||

Στρεφσαῖοι Η

15 Γαλήφσιοι Η<sup>Π</sup>

Κυρβισσός ΔΔΔΤΤΤ||

Διδυμοτει-

χῖται ΔΓΤ|||

[Δικ]αιοπο-

20 [λῖται Η]ΗΗΗ

-----

-----

*lacuna.*

Δί[παχσος ?] - - -

Κλαζομέν[ιοι] - - -

Ἀργῖοι Χ<sup>Π</sup> -

Καρβασσανδῆς - - -

5 b Φασηλῖται <sup>Π</sup>Η

Τερμερῆς ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>

Κεβρήνιοι ΗΗΗ

Κασσαλ[αβῆς] - - -

Δίκ[αία]

πα[ρ] Ἀβδηρα] - - -

(Column 4 on the marble.)

5 Ἀβ[δηρε]ῖται ΧΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓ

Ὀλύνθ[ιοι] Σκα- [Τ|| ?]||

βλαῖο[ι Ἀσ]ση-

ρεῖται Η . . . . . Τ .

Σερμυλ[ιῆς] Χ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΤΤ

10 Μηκνυπερ[να]ῖοι

Στώλιοι <sup>Π</sup> . . . Ι

Χασταί ΗΗΔ[ΔΔ]ΔΤΤ

Σύγγιοι ΗΗ[ΗΗΠΤ]ΤΤ||  
 Θάσιοι ΗΗΗ  
 15 Μυσοί ΔΔΔΤ[ΤΤ||]  
 Πίκρης Συναγ[γελεύς] - - -  
 Κεδριῆτα[ι] - - -  
 Κεράμιοι - - -  
 Βουθειῆς - - -  
 20 Κυλλάν[δ]οι - - -  
 - - ο - - -

*lacuna.*

(Column 5 on the marble.)

5 Να[ρι]σ[βαρῆς] - - -  
 Μυδ[ό]ρες - - -  
 Κια[ν]οί Δ[ΠΤ|||]

Ἄ[ρ]τακηνο[ι] - - -  
 [Ν]εά[π]ολις  
 [ἐ]ν [Θρ]άκηι ΔΠ[Τ|||]  
 Βερ[ύ]σιοι ὑπὸ  
 τῇι [Ἰ]δηι ΔΠΤ|||  
 Ἀβλιᾶται Κᾶρες ΠΤ[ΤΤ||]  
 Ἰᾶται Η  
 Παριανοί Η  
 [Δ]ασκύλειον  
 [ἐν] Προποντίδι ΠΤΤΤ||  
 [Α]ἰγωνῆται ΧΧΧ  
 Μιλήσιοι  
 [ἐ]χς Λέρον ΗΗΗ  
 [Μι]λήσιοι  
 [ἐν Τ]ειχιούσση[ι] - - -

The series of documents of which this is a specimen is of great importance to the student of Greek history. Their results have been admirably drawn out by Böckh in the 2nd volume of his *Staatshaushaltung* (ed. 3, pp. 332 foll.), and more completely by Köhler in his special work on the subject. See also the analyses by U. Pedroli, *I tributi degli alleati d'Atene* in Beloch's *Studi di Storia antica*, Fasc. i (1891), pp. 101-207, and by Larfeld in his *Handbuch der griech. Epigraphik*, ii. pp. 26 foll. Among other things, we recover (1) the list of Tributary States; (2) the precise years during which they each belonged to the Confederacy; (3) the amount of the yearly φόρος, which is arrived at in each case by multiplying the quota given by 60; (4) the various changes made in the tribute; and (5) the mode of its administration. As to the names in this list and nos. 43, 48, 64, 65, the reader is referred to the works above quoted, or to the map of the Athenian Confederacy in Kirchhoff's *C.I.A.* vol. i. Two or three interesting facts may however be mentioned here.

The earliest quota-list in B.C. 454 most likely marks the date of the transference of the Fund from Delos to Athens. Until then probably a similar ἀπαρχή had been paid in to the Delian Apollo, which was now simply transferred to Athena.

In the first eleven lists the tributary states are enumerated

with little regard to geographical order. From the 12th year (B.C. 443-442) onwards, they are distributed into five Regions, Ἰωνικὸς φόρος, Ἑλλησπόντιος φ., Ἐπὶ (once ἀπὸ) Θράκης φ., Καρικὸς φ., Νησιωτικὸς φ. (see no. 43). After the new assessment made B.C. 439, the Ionian and Karian Regions are grouped under one head, first as 'Ionian' and afterwards as 'Karian'; the order being *Ionian* (or *Karian*), *Islands*, *Hellespont*, *Thrace*. Traces of the earlier distribution are found in the historians (see Thuk. ii. 9, *Καρία . . Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, νῆσοι*: cp. Plut. *Per.* 17).

Respecting the assessment of the tribute something will be said on no. 64, which is the only known example of the kind.

The number of the Tributaries named in the lists amounts to under 290. The only known estimate of their number is in Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 707, acted B.C. 422, εἰσὶν γε πόλεις χίλιναι, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν), where 1000 is manifestly an exaggeration, but yet not intended to be beyond the limits of credibility. Many of the towns named in the lists had paid for themselves and for smaller places connected with them (*συντελεῖς*). At the assessment of 425-424 a number of the smaller places were assessed separately from the others, thus very considerably increasing the number of πόλεις, possibly to double the number preserved to us in the quota-lists. Böckh (*Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. pp. 414 foll.) supposes that the sapient Bdelykleon reckoned that for every city down in the published lists there were three that really paid; and thus in round numbers  $300 \times 3$  are set down as χίλιναι.

The total amount yearly received as assessed by Aristides (ὁ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρος, Thuk. i. 96; v. 18. § 5) was 460 talents. At the opening of the Peloponnesian War Perikles is made to estimate it (Thuk. ii. 13) at '600 talents upon the average.' The latter figure does not agree with the inscriptions: the discrepancy is explained in the notes on no. 48.

The heading of the list before us should be compared with the shorter heading of no. 43. The board of 10 Hellenotamiai, having received the tribute, drew up these lists, which were then audited by the Logistai (οἱ τριάκοντα, a board who had the control of all official accounts). See Christ, *de publ. pop. Athen. rationibus* (Greifswald, 1879), p. 28.

## 34 [25].

## The Sicilian Cities: Selinus, about B.C. 452.

A broken block of tufa discovered among the ruins of the Temple of Apollo at Selinus, in March, 1871. See the copy of Gregorio Ugdulena in the *Rivista Sicula di scienze, &c.*, 1871; A. Holm, *Bull. d. commiss. di ant.* 1871, no. iv. p. 27; O. Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt.* 1873, pp. 27 foll.; Rohl, *Inscr. Gr. Anz.* 515; *Imagines* (1898), p. 79; F. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3046; Kaibel, *I. G. S. I.* 268; Roberts, 117; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 751; Michel, *Recueil*, 1240. Cf. Sauppe, *Gött. Nachr.* 1871, no. 24, 605; Holm, *Rh. Mus.* 1872, p. 353; Blass, *ibid.* 1881, p. 615.

[Δι]ὰ τὸς θεὸς τῶ[σ]δε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινών[τιοι·  
 δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ]  
 δ[ι]ὰ Ἡρακλέα κ[α]ὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π[οτ]-  
 ε[ιδά]να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθ[α]-  
 ν[α] καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασί[κ]-  
 ρά[τ]ειαν καὶ δι[ὰ τ]ὸς ἄλλως θεός, [δ]ιὰ δ[ε] Δία  
 μάλιστ[α]· φιλι[ας] δὲ γενομένης, ἐν χρυσ-  
 έω[ι] ἐλά[σα]ντα[s, τὰ δ'] ὀνόματα ταῦτα κολ-  
 ᾶ[ν]αντ[ας ἐς τὸ Ἀπ]ολ[ώνιον καθθέμε-  
 10 ν, τὸ Διδ[ος προ]γρά[ψαν]τες. τὸ δὲ χρυσίον  
 ἐξήκοντα τ[αλάντων] ἦμεν.

The people of Selinus dedicate gold statues of certain deities, as a thank-offering for a victory, upon the conclusion of peace (line 7). Who were the defeated people? The common opinion is, or was, that they were the people of Egesta, the two states having a standing feud respecting a strip of territory (Thuk. vi. 6). Diodoros (xi. 86) records a war in B.C. 454-453 between Egesta and 'Lilybaion' περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ. As Lilybaion was not founded until a century later, Grote (pt. 2, ch. 57) suggests that the war was really between Egesta and Selinus. (Comp. Benndorf, *loc. cit.*) As our inscription, to judge from the writing, cannot be later than about B.C. 450 (Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, p. 113), it may refer to this war. The Halikyaioi have also been suggested by Köhler in place of the Lilybaisians; the name (Ἀλ)ικυαίοις appears in an Attic decree relating to an embassy which came from Egesta to Athens (*C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 58, no. 22 k; Köhler, *Mitth. d. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 1879, p. 30).

Dr. Wilhelm holds that in this decree the Halikyaioi figure as allies of Egesta. It seems therefore justifiable, on the basis of Grote's and Köhler's suggestions, to read in Diodoros Ἀλικυαίοις for Ἀλυβαίταις, and suppose the words πρὸς Σελινουτίους to have dropped out (see Busolt's note, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 521, and cp. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. p. 227, note 17). A less attractive proposal is to substitute Σελινουτίους for Ἐγεσταίοις in Diodoros, Ἀλυβαίταις being then a loose expression for the people of Motye (see Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* i. pp. 257, 431). About B.C. 450 Selinus was at the height of her prosperity (Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 515; cf. Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* i. p. 288; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, ii. p. 553). Μαλοφόρος and Πασικράτεια are Demeter and Persephone (Pausan. i. 44. 4) Μαλοφόριος was one of the months in the calendar of Byzantion, which, like Selinus, was a Megarian colony. Φόβος represents Ἄρης (cp. Plut. *Cleom.* 8; *Thes.* 27). For Zeus Agoraios at Selinus see Herod. v. 46. The syntax of lines 8-10, assuming the restoration of line 8 to be correct, is irregular but not unexampled. With ἐλάσαντας we must understand the images of the gods, which were to be in relief on a plate of gold (χρύσεον being used substantivally), while the list of names was to be incised (κολάψαντας).

### 35.

#### The Laws of Gortyna: about B.C. 450.

Part of the great inscription discovered by Halbherr in 1884, on a course in the wall supporting the *cavea* of a theatre of Roman date; the stones with the inscription had been transferred from an earlier building. Βουστροφηδόν. Comparetti, *Museo ital. di antich. class.* i (1885), pp. 233-288; E. Fabricius, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ix (1884), pp. 363 foll., pl. xx, xxi; Bücheler and Zitelmann, *Rhein. Mus.* (1885), *Ergänzungsheft*; Comparetti in the *Mon. Ant.* iii (1893), pp. 93 foll.; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* i. pp. 352 foll.; H. Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), p. 5; Michel, *Recueil*, 1333. Comp. J. W. Headlam, *Journal of Hellen. Studies*, xiii (1893), pp. 48 foll. For a fuller bibliography, see the work of Dareste, &c.

The portion given here as a specimen of the code occupies the first column of the inscription.

Θιοί.

(§ 1) Ὅς κ' ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ δώλῳ μέλλῃ ἀν-  
πιμωλῆν, πρὸ δίκας μὴ ἄγειν αἰ δ-



- ι, καλίων ἀντὶ μαιτύρων θυῶν δ-  
 ρομέων ἐλευθέρων ἀποδεικσάτ-  
 ω ἐπὶ τῷ ναῷ [ῆ] ὅπῃ κα ναεῦνι ῆ α-  
 ὑτὸς ῆ ἄλος πρὸ τούτω· αἱ δέ  
 45 κα μὴ καλῇ ῆ μὴ δείκσῃ, κατισ-  
 [τάτ]ω τὰ ἐ[γγρα]μένα, αἱ δέ κα μηδ'  
 αὐτὸν ἀποδῶι ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ,  
 τὰς ἀπλόους τ[ι]μὰς ἐπικατ-  
 αστασεῖ.
- (§ 5) Αἱ δέ κ' ἀποθάνῃ μ-  
 50 ωλιωμένας τὰδ δέ[κα]ς, τὰν ἀπλ-  
 ὄον τιμὰν κατ(α)στασεῖ.
- (§ 6) Αἱ δ-  
 ἐ κα κο[σμί]ων ἄγῃ ῆ κοσμίοντο-  
 ς ἄλλος, ῆ κ' ἀποστᾶι, μωλῇν, κ' αἱ κ-  
 α νικαθῇ, κατιστάμεν ἀπ . . σ  
 55 . . . . σ ἄγαγε τὰ ἐγγραμένα
- (§ 7) [Τὸ]ν δὲ νενικαμένο[ν] κα[ὶ] τὸν κα-  
 τακείμενον ἄγοντι ἄπατον ἦμεν.

This, the first chapter of the code, deals with actions of three kinds: (1) a person admittedly a slave is claimed by two masters (*vindicatio servi*); (2) a person actually free is claimed as a slave (*vindicatio in servitutem*); (3) a person actually a slave is claimed as free (*proclamatio in libertatem*).

The following terms require more explanation than is supplied by the context:—*ἀνπιμωλῇν* = *ἀμφισβητεῖν*, *λαγᾶσαι* = *ἀφείναι*, *ἀποπωνίοι* κ.τ.λ. = *depose*, *κήραυς* = *χείρας*.

§ 1. Neither party may lay hands on the person in dispute *pendente lite*; the fine, in the case of a free man, is ten staters, and, for a slave, half that sum. If the offender declines to yield up the person within three days, a further fine, proportioned to the time of detention, is imposed; the judge, on oath, decides how the time is to be calculated. If the offence is denied, the judge decides the matter on oath, unless a witness gives evidence.

This provision offers a curious difference from the ancient laws of Athens and Rome, where such laying hands on the object of dispute, before the matter was decided in court, was proper and legal.

§ 2. In the case where a person is claimed by one party as free, by the other as a slave, the cause of liberty is to be favoured. Where two masters each claim a slave, judgement shall go by the deposition of the witness, unless there be witnesses for either side or for neither, in which case the decision shall rest with the judge.

The prejudice in favour of liberty is paralleled in Roman law; but, in the case of a person admitted to be a slave, possession is *not* 'nine points of the law,' and the *onus probandi* is equally divided.

The 'witnesses' are not 'witnesses to any fact; they are formal witnesses to the proper performance of processual acts. Before a man can bring a case into court he has to go through certain formalities; these must be performed before witnesses, the presence of the witnesses is necessary to the validity of the acts; and their statement is the proof required by the law that the acts have been performed' (Headlam).

§ 3. The decision of the court is to be complied with within five days; otherwise an immediate fine is imposed, with an additional fine proportioned to the time of detention. But if this time exceed a year, not more than a third of the resultant fine can be exacted.

The fine being a comparatively heavy one, the result of the accumulation would soon be to exceed the value of the person in question. Consequently after a year the rate is lowered. Nevertheless the result might eventually bring about the ruin of the offender. The court apparently takes no measures to ensure respect for its decision, beyond giving the victorious party the right to distrain on the offender's property.

§ 4. If the slave take refuge in a sanctuary, the losing party himself, or another for him, shall show the rightful owner the place of sanctuary before two witnesses, freemen of full age. The fine for non-compliance as before; after a year, he is to pay in addition the value of the slave.

The losing party can free himself of his obligation by showing where his slave has taken asylum. After a year, if the slave has not been given up to the rightful owner, the loser pays his value over.



§ 5. If the slave in dispute dies during the trial, the loser pays his value to the winner.

§ 6. If a *kosmos* while in office commits the offence prohibited in § 1, or if another commits that offence against a *kosmos* while in office, the case cannot be tried until the *kosmos* lays down his office. The fine to be calculated from the day on which the offence was committed (such seems to be the sense of the last sentence).

The *kosmos* (an official corresponding to the Athenian archon) could not sue or be sued while in office—another parallel with Roman law. There is a compensation in the fact that the fine is calculated from the day of the commission of the offence; thus a guilty *kosmos* or a person guilty of the offence against a *kosmos* would necessarily pay a higher fine, *ceteris paribus*, than an ordinary offender.

§ 7. It is permitted with impunity to lay hands on a debtor who has been condemned as insolvent, or on one who has given his person as security for a debt.

These two cases are apparent exceptions to § 1, but apparent only, since debtors of this kind are legally the property of their creditors. The insolvent debtor at Gortyna, as in early Attic and Roman law, was the chattel of his creditor.

### 36 [73].

#### Commercial Treaty with Phaselis: middle of fifth century B.C.

In the Museum at Athens. Στοιχειδόν. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 86; Köhler, *Hermes*, vii. 159; *C. I. A.* ii. 11; Michel, *Recueil*, 6; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 72. Comp. E. Sonne, *de arbitris externis*, p. 112, note 109; W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 98, note 1; A. Wilhelm, *Gott. Gel. Anz.* (1898), p. 204; E. Meyer, *Forsch. zur alten Gesch.* ii (1899), pp. 5 foll.

- § 1. [Ἐδο]ξεν τῇ [β]ουλῇ καὶ τῶι δ[ή]-  
 μωι· Ἄ]καμαντὺς [ἐ]πρυτάνευε,  
 [Ῥ]οδόσιππος ἐγραμμάτευεν, .  
 . . . . δης ἐπεστάτει, Λέω[ν ἐ]ῖ-  
 5 [πε· § 2. τοῖς Φασηλίταις τὸ ψ[ήφ]ι-  
 [σμα ἀν]αγράφαι, ὃ τι ἀμ μὲ[ν] Ἀθ-  
 [ήν]ησι ξ[υ]μβόλαιον γένηται  
 [πρὸς Φ]ασ(η)λιτ[ῶ]ν τινα, Ἀθ[ή]ν[η]-

- σι τὰς δίκας γίνεσθαι παρ-  
 10 ἀ τῶι πολεμάρχῳ καθάπερ Χ-  
 [ίοις καὶ] ἄλλοι μὴδὲ ἁμοῦ. § 3. τῶ-  
 [ν δὲ ἄλλων] ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν κατ-  
 [ὰ τὰς Χίων ξυμβολὰς πρὸς Φα-  
 [σηλίτας] τὰς δίκας εἰν[α]ι,  
 15 τὰς [δὲ ἐκκλητή]ου[ς] ἀφελείν. § 4. ἐὰν δὲ τ-  
 [ῶν ἀλλαχοῦ] ἃ[ρ]χ[ω]ν δ[έ]ξ[η]τα[ι] δ-  
 [ίκην κατὰ] Φασηλιτῶν τ[ι]νός,  
 [τούτου δ' ὁφε]ίλειν καταδικασ-  
 [θῆι, ἥ μὲν δίκ]η ἃ[κυρ]ος ἔστω. § 5. ἐ-  
 20 [ὰν δὲ . . . .]αι δ[οκ]ῇ τὰ ἐψη-  
 [φισμένα, ὁφ]ε[ι]λ[έ]τω [μ]υρ[ία]ς δ[ρ]-  
 [αχμὰς ἱερ]ὰς τ[ῇ] 'Αθηναίαι. § 6. Τ-  
 [ὸ δὲ ψήφισμα] τ[ὸ]δ[έ] ἀνα[γρ]α[ψ]ά-  
 [τω ὁ γραμμ]ατεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς  
 25 [ἐ] στήλῃ λιθί[ν]ῃ καὶ καταθ-  
 [έτω ἐν πόλει τ]έλεσι τοῖς τῶ-  
 [ν Φασηλιτῶν].

The date of this inscription is soon after the battle of the Eurymedon. Just before that battle Kimon had brought the city of Phaselis into the Athenian alliance, thanks to the intervention of the Chians, who were always on friendly terms with the Phaselites (Plut. *Cim.* 12).

Phaselis had offered a strenuous resistance to Kimon, being a Dorian colony and in close commercial connexion with Persian lands. It was the farthest member of the league to the East, and, lying on the highroad to Egypt and Phoenicia, enjoyed a prosperous trade, as its assessment at ten talents shows (Plut. *l. c.*; cp. Thuk. ii. 69. Demosth., *contr. Lacr.* 1 ff., describes the sharp practices of the inhabitants). It was likely that suits would arise between merchants of Phaselis and of Athens: treaties providing for such cases between the citizens of two towns were common enough (ξυμβολαί), and suits conducted in accordance with such provisions were δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν. See von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in *Hermes*, xx. p. 240.

Cases arising out of business transacted at Athens are to be tried at Athens before the archon polemarch. § 3. In

other δίκαι ἀπὸ ζυμβολῶν, Phaselites were not to be compelled to come to Athens. Hesych. ἐκκλητοὶ δίκαι· αἱ ἐπὶ ξένης λεγόμεναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει. The phrase does not connote 'appeal.'

§ 4. This treaty in no way concerns disputes between Phaselites and non-Athenians: τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ (scil. γενομένων ζυμβολαίων).

§ 5. Fine threatened if the archon disobeys. The limitation was an important one for the allied city, as it limited the supremacy of Athens.

The use of the Ionic alphabet is explained by the last words of the inscription, which show that the Phaselites defrayed the expense of its being engraved.

### 37.

#### Plans for the Temple of Athena Nike : about B.C. 450-446.

Block of marble found on the north side of the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν. Kavnadias, Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ. 1897, p. 177, pl. 11; S. Reinach, *C. R. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* 1897, pp. 549 foll.; U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1898, no. 10, pp. 383, 384; A. Furtwängler, *Sitzungsber. d. Münch. Akad. (philos.-philol. Cl.)*, 1898, p. 380; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 911; Haussoullier, *Rev. de Phil.* 1898, p. 61; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Archäol. Anz.* 1898, p. 124; Michel, *Recueil*, 671; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 4; Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Gesch.* ii (1899), p. 118, note 1, 136.

#### First side.

..... κοσ εἶπε' [τῇ  
 'Αθηναίαι τῇ Νίκῃ]ι ἱέρειαν ἥ ἀ[ν] ἀσ-  
 τὴ ἐχς ἀστῶν ἥ] ἐχς 'Αθηναίων ἁπά[ν]τ-  
 ων καταστῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θυρώσα-  
 5 ι καθότι ἀν Καλλικράτης χσυγγράφσ-  
 ηι· ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τοὺς πωλητὰς ἐπὶ τ-  
 ῆς Λεωντίδος πρυτανείας, φέρειν δὲ τ-  
 ῆν ἱέρειαν πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ  
 τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρειν τῶν δη-  
 10 μοσίων, νεῶν δὲ οἰκοδομῆσαι καθότι  
 ἀν Καλλικράτης χσυγγράφσῃ καὶ βω-  
 μὸν λίθινον.  
 Ἑστίαῖος εἶπε· τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἑλέσθ-  
 [α]ι ἐγ βουλῆς, τούτους δὲ μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά-

- 15 [του]ς χσυγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδείχσαι τῇ-  
 ι βουλῇ] καὶ καθότι ἀπομίσθωθήσεται . .  
 . . . . . ]ηι (vel ει), τοὺς [δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐς τὸν δῆμ-  
 ον ἐχσενεγκεῖν - - -

*Second side.*

- Ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δῆ-  
 μωι. Αἰγῆς ἐπρυτάνευε· Νεοκ-  
 λείδης ἐγραμμάτευε· Ἀγνόδη-  
 μος ἐπεστάτει. Καλλίας εἶπε· τ-  
 5 ῆι ἱερελαί τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Νί-  
 κης πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς τ[ὰ]-  
 ς γεγραμ[μ]ένας ἐν τῇ στήλ[ῃ]  
 ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς κωλάκρ[έ]τας  
 οἱ ἂν κωλακρετῶσι τοῦ [Ποσειδ-  
 10 εῶ]νος μηνός, τῇ ἱερ[ε]λαί τῆς Ἀ-  
 θηνα]ίας τῆς Νίκη[ς] - - -

The date of the inscribing of the first side of this block is fixed by the lettering to about the middle of the fifth century. The inscription on the back of the block is later, perhaps by some twenty or thirty years (it has the four-line sigma); the alphabet used down to the word Νίκης (lines 5-6) is Attic, and then the Ionic is suddenly introduced. The cause for this change is certainly obscure; we may perhaps explain it by supposing that the lapidary, at a time when he was used to the Ionic alphabet, was set to transfer to this stone a decree passed at an earlier date, and that his patience was exhausted after a few lines. Slight traces of the Ionic alphabet occur in Attic inscriptions as early as the middle of the fifth century (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> p. 4). The cause of the passing of the decree inscribed on the back probably was that the priestess had had difficulty in obtaining her salary, owing to its not having been decided who should pay her. The payment of the priestess' salary, it is now decided, is to be made each year (ἀποδιδόναι, not ἀποδοῦναι) by the kolakretai. It is strange that some should have understood line 9 to prove that the kolakretai were officials changing with the month or prytany; of course the mention of the month is necessary merely to fix the date of the payment.

At the time when the first decree was passed, there existed only a primitive shrine, or probably even a mere altar of ashes, dedicated to the worship of Athena Nike, on the spot where the beautiful temple of the Wingless Victory was to be built and has been reconstructed in modern times. This decree provides a priestess for the cult, and arranges for the placing of a door to the hieron, and the building of a temple with a stone altar according to the specification (*ξυγγραφή*) of Kallikrates, one of the architects of the Parthenon. The salary of the priestess is eked out by the perquisites of the legs and skins of victims sacrificed in state ceremonies (we must not read τὸν δημόσιον with von Wilamowitz and Haussoullier). For the perquisites of priestesses see the decree of Halikarnassos (*Gr. Inscr. in B. M.* 895; Michel, *Recueil*, 453; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 601): θύσει τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικά, καὶ λήψεται τῶν θυομένων δημοσίου ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἱερείου κωλῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω(λ)ῇ νεμόμενα καὶ τεταρτημορίδα σπλάγχων καὶ τὰ δέρματα, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν κ.τ.έ. As to the temple which is to be built, it is undoubtedly the well-known temple of the Wingless Victory. The arrangement of that temple in regard to the original form of the bastion on which it stands shows that it was begun before the Propylaia. If, as some hold, the style of the frieze is post-Periklean, the completion of the temple must have been delayed, for some cause that is obscure. Yet in this case it is difficult to understand why the whole was not then altered so as to suit the new connexion of the bastion with the plan of the Propylaia.

## 38.

**Athenian Expedition to Megaris: B. C. 448-447.**

Found by Fauvel in a tomb near the Acharnian gate. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 175; Kumanudis, *Ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ.* 16 (p. 12); Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 26; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 1675; *Hermes*, xxiv (1889), pp. 92 foll.; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum*, 35; F. D. Allen, *Pap. Amer. Sch.* iv. p. 100.

Μνήμα [τόδ' ἐστ' ἐ]πὶ σ[ώ]ματι κείμενο(ν) ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου  
 Πυθίων | ἐγ Μεγάρω(ν) δαί(ξ)ας ἐπτα(ῖ)ν ἀνδρας,  
 'Ἐπτα δὲ ἀπορρήσας (λ)|όγχας ἐνὶ σώματι ἐκείνων  
 Ἐίλετο τὰν ἀρετὰν πατέρα εὐκ|λείζων ἐνὶ δήμῳ.  
 5 Οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἔ(σ)ωισεν 'Αθηναίων τρ||εῖς φυλὰς

Ἐκ Παγᾶν ἀγαγὼν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας,  
 Εὐκλ|εισε Ἀνδοκίδαν δισχιλ(ί)οις ἀνδραπόδοισιν.  
 Οὐδέ(δε)να | πημάνας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 Εἰς Αἶδα κατέβα πᾶσι μα|καριστὸς ἰδέσθαι.  
 10 Φυλαὶ αἰδ' εἰσίν· Πανδιονὶς Κεκρ||οπὶς Ἀντιοχίς.

The revolt of Megara (Thuk. i. 115; Diod. xii. 5; and Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 426) took the Athenian garrison by surprise; but they succeeded in holding Nisaia and Pagai. Andokides, the grandfather of the orator, was dispatched from Athens in command of the three phylai mentioned in the text (the remaining seven were occupied with Perikles in Euboea). While Andokides laid waste Megaris, the Peloponnesian army cut across his direct line of communications, and forced him to return from Pagai by the difficult coast-road through Aigosthena and Kreusis, and so through Boiotia homewards. It was on this march that Pythion did the service for which he is lauded in this quaintly illiterate epitaph.

## 39 [26].

## Athenian defeat at Koroneia (?): B. C. 447.

Two fragments of Pentelic marble, the one discovered on the Akropolis in 1864, the other in 1876: Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* i. p. 303; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 9, no. 27.

. . . . λέως εἶπε· Κο[ρ . .]ίδην [καὶ]  
 Θαλυκίδην καὶ Μενέστρατον [κ]-  
 αὶ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς Θεσπιᾶς ἀναγρ-  
 [ά]φσαι προχσένους καὶ εὐεργέτα-  
 5 [ς Ἀ]θηναίων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς  
 [ἐκείνων] ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
 [νῃ· ὅι δὲ] πωλητ[α]ὶ ἀπομισθωσά-  
 [ντων τὴν στήλην. τ]ὸ δὲ ἀργύριον  
 [ἀποδόντων ὅι κωλακρ]έται - -

The date of the document is fixed by the characters. We may take these men of Thespiæ to be persons who stood faithful to Athens after the defeat of Koroneia, and were exiled from Boiotia for their pains. The name of the fourth betrays the Athenian sympathies of his family. The friend-

ship of Thespiæ for Athens was strengthened by a jealousy of Thebes (cp. Herod. vii. 222; Thuk. iv. 133; vi. 95). In the last line ἀποδόντων (instead of the usual δόντων) must be restored (cp. no. 37, l. 8 of reverse).

## 40 [28].

## Athenian conquest of Eubœia: Settlement of Chalkis.

B. C. 446.

An entire slab, discovered on the Akropolis in 1876: the appearance of the stone reveals that a companion stèle originally was attached to it on the left, both being surmounted by one pediment, on which probably was the name of the γραμματεὺς, whose omission is otherwise peculiar. Στοιχηδόν. Published by Kumanudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, v. pp. 76 foll.; Foucart in *Revue archéologique* (1877), i. p. 242; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), 27 a, p. 10; Egger, *Journ. des Savants* (1876), p. 448; Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i (1876), p. 184; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* (1877), i. p. 242; Michel, *Recueil*, 70; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 17 and Add. vol. ii. p. 807; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 7. Cp. H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 193; Fränkel, *Att. Geschworenengerichte*, pp. 45, 51; Schöll, *Münchener Sitzungsber.* 1888, p. 4, note 2; Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aus Eubœien* (Philol. Untersuch. i), pp. 87-96; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>, pp. 229, 230; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alt. Gesch.* ii. p. 141; Lipsius, *Sächs. Berichte*, 1898, p. 158; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 220. The lost stèle possibly contained the ψήφισμα relating to the ὄρκος of the Eretrians (line 42), on which model the ὄρκος of the Chalkidians was based. The inscription dates from immediately after the reduction of Eubœia (autumn 446), of which Chalkis was the key; this is not part of the δμολογία mentioned by Thuk. i. 114, but gives rather certain modifications of that δμολογία, conceded by the Athenians upon the petition of the Chalkidians.

Heading. Ἐδοχσεν τῇ[ι β]ουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἀντιοχὶς ἐ[πρ]ντ-  
άνευε, Δρακ[ον]τίδης ἐπεστάτει.

§ 1. Resolution carried by Diognetos.

Διόγνητος εἶπε·

κατὰ τὰδε (τ)ὸν ὄρκον δόμοσαι Ἀθηναίων τ-  
ῇν βουλῇ καὶ τοὺς δικαστάς· οὐκ ἐχσελῶ Χα-  
5 λκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνά-  
στατον ποιήσω, οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην οὐδένα ἀτιμ-  
ώσω οὐδὲ φυγῇ ζημιώσω οὐδὲ χυλλήψο-  
μαι οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἀφαιρή-  
σομαι ἀκ[ρ]ίτου οὐδενὸς ἀνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθ-  
10 ηναίων, οὐδ' ἐπιφσηφιῶ κατὰ ἀπροσκλητόν  
οὔτε κατὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ οὔτε κατὰ ἰδιώτου οὐδ-  
ὲ ἐνός, καὶ πρεσβεῖαν ἐλθοῦσαν προσάχσω

Oath to be  
taken by  
Athenian  
βουλὴ and  
δικασταί.

- πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον δέκα ἡμερῶν, ὅταν  
 πρυτανεύω, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐμπ-  
 15 [ε]δῶσω Χαλκιδεῦσιν πειθομένοις τῷ δῇ-  
 [μ]ωι τῷ Ἀθηναίων. ὀρκῶσαι (δ)ὲ πρεσβεία-  
 [ν] ἔλθουσιν ἐξ Χαλκίδος μετὰ τῶν ὀρκωτῶ-  
 ν Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἀπογράφσαι τοὺς ὁμόσαντ-  
 as. ὅπως δ' ἂν [δ]μόσωσιν ἅπαντες, ἐπιμελ-  
 20 ὀσθων ὅι σ[τ]ρηγοί.—  
 κατὰ τὰδε Χαλκιδέας ὁμόσαι· οὐκ ἀπο[σ]τή-  
 σομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [δ]ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε τέ[χ]ν-  
 ηι οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ  
 25 ἔργωι, οὐδὲ τῷ ἀφισταμένωι πείσομαι, κ-  
 αὶ ἐὰν ἀφιστῇ τις, κατερῶ Ἀθηναίοισι, κ-  
 αὶ τὸν φόρον ὑποτελῶ Ἀθηναίοισιν ἔν  
 ἂν πείθω Ἀθηναίους, καὶ χσύμμαχος ἔσομα-  
 ι τοῖος ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστος καὶ δικαιοῦ-  
 30 ατος, καὶ τῷ δήμωι τῷ Ἀθηναίων βοηθήσ-  
 ω καὶ ἀμυνῶ, ἐάν τις ἀδικῇ τὸν δῆμον τὸν  
 Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πείσομαι τῷ δήμωι τῷ Ἀθ-  
 ηναίων. ὁμόσαι δὲ Χαλκιδέων τοὺς ἡβῶντ-  
 as ἅπαντας. ὅς δ' ἂμ μὴ ὁμόσῃ, αἴτιμον αὐτ-  
 35 ὸν εἶναι καὶ τὰ χρημ[α]τα αὐτοῦ δημόσια, καὶ  
 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἱερὸ-  
 [ν] ἔστω τῶν χρημάτων. ὀρκῶσαι δὲ πρεσβε-  
 ῖαν Ἀθηναίων ἔλθουσιν ἐς Χαλκίδ[α] μετὰ τ-  
 ῶν ὀρκωτῶν τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδι καὶ ἀπογράψ-  
 40 σαι τοὺς ὁμόσαντας Χαλκιδέων.

§ 2. *Resolutions carried by Antikles.*

- The oath to be  
 40 sworn as soon as possible.  
 Ἀντικλῆς εἴπε· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῇ Ἀθηναί-  
 ων, ποεῖσθαι τὸν ὄρκον Ἀθηναίους καὶ Χαλ-  
 κιδέας καθάπερ Ἐρετριεῦσι ἐφσηφίσατ-  
 ο ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων. ὅπως δ' ἂν τάχιστ-  
 α γίγνηται, ἐπιμελόσθων ὅι στρατηγοί.  
 45 ὅιτινες δὲ ἐχορκώσονται ἀφικόμενοι ἐ-  
 s Χαλκίδα ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆμον πέντε ἄνδρ-  
 as ἀντίκα μάλα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὁμήρων ἀποκ-  
 ρίνασθαι Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ὅτι νῦν μὲν Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις δοκεῖ ἔαν κατὰ τὰ ἐφσηφισμένα, ἡ
- Five extra  
 45 commis-  
 sioners.
- The Athe-  
 nians will  
 retain



- 50 ὅτ[α]ν δὲ δοκῇ, βουλευσάμενοι ποιήσουσι τῇ-  
 ν διαλλα[γ]ὴν καθότι ἂν δοκῇ ἐπιτή[δ]ειο-  
 ν εἶναι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι. τοὺς δ-  
 ἔχσένους τοὺς ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὅσοι οἰκοῦντες  
 μὴ τελοῦσιν Ἀθήναζε καὶ εἴ τωι δέδοται ἔ-  
 55 ντὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀτέλεια, τοὺς δὲ ἄ-  
 λλους τελεῖν ἐς Χαλκίδα καθάπερ ὅι ἄλλοι  
 Χαλκιδέης. τὸ δὲ φρήφισμα τὸδε καὶ τὸν  
 ὅρκον ἀναγράφσαι Ἀθήνῃσι μὲν τὸν γρα-  
 μμ[α]τέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λι[θ]ίνῃ καὶ κ-  
 60 αταθεῖναι ἐς πόλιν τέλεσι τοῖς Χαλκιδέ-  
 ων· ἐν δὲ Χαλκίδι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ  
 Ὀλυμπίου ἡ βουλή (ἡ) Χαλκιδέων ἀναγράφασα  
 α καταθέτω. ταῦτα μὲν φσηφίσασθαι Χαλ[κ]-  
 ιδεῦσιν.—τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν χρησμ-  
 65 ῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐβοίας θῆναι ὡς τάχιστα μετ[ὰ]  
 Ἱεροκλέους τρεῖς ἄνδρας ὅους ἂν ἔληται [·]  
 ἡ βουλή σφῶν αὐτῶν. ὅπως δ' ἂν τάχιστα τυθ-  
 ῇ ὅι στρατηγοὶ συνεπιμελόσθων καὶ τ-  
 ὁ ἀργύριον ἐς ταῦτα [π]αρεχόντων.

Chalki-  
 dian hos-  
 tages.

Taxes paid  
 by aliens.

How and  
 where this  
 decree is  
 to be in-  
 scribed.

Sacrifices  
 in obedi-  
 ence to  
 χρησμοί of  
 Hierokles.

§ 3. *Supplement to Antikles' resolutions, carried by  
 Archestratos.*

- 70 Ἀρχέστρατο[s] εἶπε· τ[ὰ] μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [Α]-  
 ντικλῆς· τὰς [δ]ὲ εὐθύνas Χαλκιδεῦ[σ]ι κατ-  
 ἂ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν Χαλκίδι καθάπερ Ἀθ-  
 ῆνησιν Ἀθηναίοις, πλὴν φυγῆς καὶ θανάτ-  
 ου καὶ ἀτιμίας. περὶ δὲ τούτων ἔφεσιν εἶνα-  
 75 ἰ Ἀθήναζε ἐς τὴν ἡλιαίαν τὴν τῶν θεσμοθ-  
 ετῶν κατὰ τὸ φρήφισμα τοῦ δήμου. περὶ δὲ φυ-  
 λακῆς Εὐβοίας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐπιμέλεσ-  
 θαι ὡς ἂν δύνωνται ἄριστα, ὅπως ἂν ἔχη-  
 ἰ ὡς βέλτιστα Ἀθηναίοις.

80 ὅρκος.

The Chal-  
 kicians to  
 be inde-  
 pendent in  
 matters of  
 jurisdic-  
 tion, with  
 certain ex-  
 ceptions.  
 The  
 Euboian  
 cities to be  
 allowed all  
 freedom  
 compat-  
 ible with  
 the mili-  
 tary safety  
 of Euboea.

Line 4: the Athenians are not to deal with Chalkis as they had just dealt with Hestiaia (Thuk. i. 114), and as they had with Chalkis itself in B.C. 509-4 (Herod. v. 77). Here the βουλή, or perhaps both βουλή and δικασταί, swear as representing the whole people. Line 6: this applies rather to the

Athenian dikasts, when trying a case brought to them from Chalkis; ἀκρίτου οὐδενός is to be understood with all these verbs. Line 8: unfair sentence of death and confiscation is meant. The ultimate sovereign power is here reserved for the omnipotent δῆμος. Line 10: this applies to members of the βουλή, who are to act like Sokrates when they are πρυτάνεις, and not put to the vote an unfair ψήφισμα. Line 11: compare the sweeping decree against the Mytilenaians (Thuk. iii. 36). Line 12: envoys with petitions from subject states or others could only be introduced to the δῆμος by the πρυτάνεις, who were not always above suspicion of abusing their power by taking bribes, or by repelling unpopular applicants (Arist. *Peace*, 905; *Thesm.* 936; [Xenophon], *Resp. Ath.* iii. 3); the words κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν show that sometimes an embassy could not be introduced, owing to urgent business, or to the occurrence of a national holiday (ἐκ χειρὶς, Arist. *Peace*, *ibid.*). Line 20: this was the usual form of the 3rd pers. pl. pres. imp. pass. at this date (see Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> p. 168). Line 27: this shows that the subject cities could and did appeal against unfair assessment of φόρος (cp. no. 64). Line 30: a contingent from Chalkis served with the Athenians in Sicily (Thuk. vii. 57). Line 40: this is probably the same Antikles who commanded in the Samian war (Thuk. i. 117). Line 41: Kirchhoff concludes, from the use of the present tense, that Antikles' object was to repeat the oath at stated intervals, and that this had been ordered in the lost psephisma concerning Eretria. Dr. Wilhelm prefers to see in the present tense merely an indication of the long continued process of swearing in all the individual Chalkidians. The limits of time and other such conditions are to be the same as at Eretria. Lines 43, 44: from this expression, and αὐτίκα μάλα below, we gather that the δμολογία had only just been concluded with Euboeia (Thuk. i. 114). Line 46: as all the adult population of Chalkis had to swear, the five extra commissioners would be needed. Lines 47 foll.: the Chalkidians had asked for some concession as to the hostages, which was for the present refused. Lines 53 foll.: the sentence is loosely constructed, but there is no need to emend the text. The sense is: Aliens living in Chalkis,

unless they already, while inhabiting there, pay taxes to Athens or enjoy ἀτέλεια granted by the Athenian people, shall all pay taxes to Chalkis. καὶ εἰ τῶι is equivalent to καὶ ὅσοις μὴ, the negative being carried over from the previous alternative; τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους resumes the subject τοὺς χσένους. The reference is to Athenian metoikoi. Each subject state paid its φόρος in a lump sum to Athens; the local authorities raised it by an individual assessment. Lines 64 foll.: for Hierokles and his χρησμοί see Arist. *Peace*, 1043 foll.; perhaps he had received a grant of land at Oreos as a reward, upon the fulfilment of his predictions of success in the Euboean expedition: cp. the prophesyings about the Sicilian expedition (Thuk. viii. 1). That such μάντεις accompanied the Athenian armies we know from no. 26. Thukydides speaks slightly (ii. 21) of these floating χρησμοί, but they were believed in by the people, and this psephisma shows that they were recognized by the state. Line 71: by τὰς εἰθύνας we must here understand punishment, not the account given by a magistrate of his office. Line 75: von Wilamowitz, who denies that ἔφεσις means more than referring to law, explains 'the heliaia of the thesmothetai' as simply the office where allies intending an action first applied, in order that their cases might be put in the hands of the proper authorities. But Lipsius (*loc. cit.*) has made it clear that ἔφεσις can have the sense of 'appeal' usually given to it. Line 80: here the formula of the oath was rehearsed in the MS. draft, but the stonecutter does not repeat it, as it has already occurred as part of Diognetos' motion.

## 41 [29].

## Athenian Colonies in Thrace: Brea, B. C. 446-444.

Two fragments of Pentelie marble, found 1833, 1847, in the Erechtheion. Στοιχηδόν. Published 1853 by Böckh, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* p. 147, and by Sauppe, *Ber. d. Sächs. Akad.* p. 33. Kirchhoff's text, *C. I. A.* i. no. 31, is followed in the main; see too Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 19; Michel, *Recueil*, 72; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 8.

A. Decree of the people, carried by Demokleides.

(The beginning is lost).

- - - ν ἀν φα - - - -  
- - - ἐσ]αγέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐσάγηι, ἐνεχ[υραζέ-

- τω αὐτὸν] ὁ φήνας ἢ ὁ γραφσάμενος. ποίμνια  
 δὲ αἰγῶν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντων ὅι ἀποίκιστ-  
 5 αὶ καλλιεργῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποικίας, [ῥοπόσα  
 ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. γεωνόμους δὲ ἐλέσθαι δέκα  
 ἄνδρας], ἕνα ἐκ φυλῆς. οὗτοι δὲ νειμάντων τὴν  
 γῆν. Δημόκλειδην δὲ καταστήσαι τὴν ἀποικί-  
 10 αν αὐτοκράτορα, καθότι ἂν δύνηται ἄριστα. τ-  
 α δὲ τεμένη τὰ ἐχσημημένα ἔαν καθάπερ ἔστ-  
 ι, καὶ ἅλλα μὴ τεμενίζειν. βούν δὲ καὶ π[αυ]τοπλ-  
 ιαν ἀπάγειν ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Δ-  
 ιονύσι]α φαλλόν. ἔαν δὲ τις ἐπιστρατεύῃ ἐπ-  
 15 ἰ τὴν γῆν τὴν τῶν ἀποίκων, βοηθεῖν τὰς πόλεις  
 ὡς ὀχσύν[τα] κατὰ τὰς χσυγγραφάς, ἅ[ν] ἐπὶ . .  
 . . . . .]του γραμματεύοντος ἐγένου[το περὶ τ-  
 ῶν πόλε]ων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης. γράφσαι δ[ὲ] ταῦτα  
 ἐν στήλ]ῃ καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐμ πόλει, πα[ρα]σχόν-  
 20 των δὲ τὴν στήλην ὅι ἀποικοὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν τέ-  
 λεσιν. ἔαν δὲ τις ἐπιφοσηφίξῃ παρὰ τὴν στήλ-  
 ην ἢ ῥ[ή]τωρ ἀγορεύῃ ἢ προσκαλεῖσθαι ἐγχει-  
 ῃ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἢ λύειν τι τῶν ἐφσηφί[σμένων,  
 ἄτιμον] εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐχς [ἐκείνου  
 καὶ τὰ χ]ρήματα δημόσια εἶναι καὶ τῆς [θεοῦ τὸ ἐ-  
 25 πιδέκα]τον, ἔαμ μὴ τι αὐτοὶ ὅι ἀποικ[οι περὶ  
 σφῶν δέ]ωνται.—ὅσοι δ' ἂν γράφσωντα[ι ἐποικ-  
 ήσειν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπειδὰν ἤκωσ[ι] Ἀθήνα-  
 ζε, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐμ Βρέαι εἶναι ἐποικήσ-  
 30 οντας. ἐχσάγειν δὲ τὴν ἀποικίαν τριάκοντα ἡ-  
 μερῶν. Αἰσχίνην δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντα ἀπο[διδόν]-  
 α τὰ χρήματα.

B. *Rider carried by Phantokles.*

- [Φ]αντοκλῆς εἶπε· περὶ  
 [μ]ὲν τῆς ἐς Βρέαν ἀποι-  
 [κ]ίας καθάπερ Δημοκλ-  
 35 [ε]ίδης εἶπε· Φαντοκλέ-  
 [α] δὲ προσαγαγεῖν τὴν Ἑ-  
 [ρ]εχθηίδα πρυτανεία-  
 [ν] πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῇ-

[ι] πρώτη ἔδραι. ἐς δὲ  
 40 [Β]ρέαν ἐχ θητῶν καὶ ζε-  
 [υ]γιδῶν ἰέναι τοὺς ἀπο-  
 [ί]κους.

This decree, concerning an almost forgotten event (see Hesych. and Steph. Byz. s.v. Βρέα; E. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 486, Eng. trans.; G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 417, note 1), is the only known inscription relating to the details of the founding of a Greek colony. The ἀποικία, a colony planted amongst barbarians on foreign soil, is to be distinguished from κληρουχία, a settlement of Athenian citizens in the city and lands of an expelled Greek population, as at Hestiaia and Chalkis (see preceding), Samos, Myrina, &c. Observe that the connexion with the mother city is to be maintained by θεωραίαι and contributions to the great Athenian festivals (cp. no. 32, and the statement of the Scholiast on the *Clouds*, 386: at the Panathenaia all the Athenian colonies used to send oxen to be sacrificed); and in the division of the land at Brea certain lands are to be reserved (ἐξηρημένα) for the endowment of temples (τεμένη). Further, it appears from B that by this colonization Perikles had in view not only the strengthening of Athens in the neighbourhood of Thrace, but also the relief of the poorer citizens (Plut. *Per.* 11). A. Line 2: certain imports had just been prohibited. Lines 4, 5: this word, if rightly restored, means the leaders of the ἀποικισμός. Line 6: so too ten men were sent to superintend the foundation of Thurioi—the Θουριομόνταις of Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 332 and Schol.). Line 11: the restoration παν'οπλίαν is due to Dr. H. von Prott, who restores it with certainty from a Prienian inscription shortly to be published by him; cp. no. 64 (j) and *C. I. A.* ii. 164. Line 15: the cities of the Athenian confederacy are to defend Brea: the ξυγγραφαί are laws drawn up by persons commissioned for this purpose (ξυγγραφεῖς), and then sanctioned by the council and assembly. Line 27: Athenians on military service may give in their names as colonists, but are not to make this a mere pretext for leaving service, without going to Brea. The military service in question was probably that on which the Athenians were engaged in Euboea in 446 B. C. Line 30: this is the ἐφόδιον, or grant of money from the home

government for the establishment of the colony: see *Intro.* to Demosth. *Cherson.*; though that concerns a κληρουχία. B. The prytaneis of Erechtheis, which was probably the next to follow, were to introduce Phantokles to the βουλή: see note on preceding, line 12 (p. 66).

## 42.

## Athenian Colony at Eretria? B.C. 445-444.

On a marble basis at the Propylaea. Στοιχηδόν. Kirchhoff, *Berlin Akad. Abhandl.* 1873, p. 20; *C. I. A.* i. 339; Dittenberger, *Syloges* 2, 18; Lolling, *Katálogos του Ἐπιγρ. Μουσείου*, i. p. 67, no. 97.

Τῆς ἀπο[κίας]  
τῆς ἐς Ἐρ[έτριαν].

The establishment of a colony in Eretria may be connected with the expedition of Tolmides in B.C. 447 (*Diod.* xi. 88; *Paus.* i. 27. 5), or may more probably be a little later. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. p. 416. P. Fischer's objections to the restoration Ἐρ[έτριαν] (he reads Ἐρ[έσσον], *Quaest. de Athen. Sociis Hist.*, Bonn Diss. 1887, pp. 28 foll.) do not seem to be valid. The law that there should be the same number of letters in each line does not hold in short inscriptions of this kind. The colony in Eresos would, if he is right, be that established in B.C. 427, described by *Thuk.* iii. 50 (cp. *C. I. A.* i. 96, iv (1), p. 22, here no. 61). The object supported by the basis must have been dedicated at the time of the foundation of the colony.

## 43 [30].

List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the year  
B. C. 443.

Inscribed on the 1st of the blocks mentioned on no. 33. Στοιχηδόν. The text is given from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 237, after Köhler, *Urkunden*, &c., p. 33; cp. Böckh, *Staatsh.* 2 i. p. 472; ii. p. 387.

Of the series of documents to which this belongs, something has been said on no. 33. The present list has a special interest for the reason that we recognize the poet Sophokles in the last line as the chairman of the Hellenotamiai, so that his

command in the Samian expedition, B. C. 440, was not his first public appointment (Strabo, p. 638); while it was not his last, if we may believe Plutarch's story (*Nic.* 15).

The present quota-list belongs to the beginning of Perikles' supremacy at Athens. From this time onwards the disbursements for public works must have been enormous; and it used to be supposed that the expenses were met by an increase in the tribute. But the total tribute, so far as it is possible to judge from the quota-lists in their present state, remained at the Aristeidean level (see the analysis given on no. 48).

[Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς δωδεκάτης ἡ [Σ]οφιάδης ἐγραμμάτευε  
Ἐλευσίνοι(ος).

(Column 1 on the marble.)

[Ἰωνικοῦ φόρου.]

(18 lines.)

--	[Ἐρυθραῖοι]
--	[Βουθειῆς]
--	[Πολιχνῆται]
--	[Πτελεούσιοι]
25 --	[Ἐλαιούσιοι]
--	[Σιδούσιοι]
--	[Μυρῆσσιοι]
--	[Πριηνῆς]
--	[Πυγελῆς]
30 [ΔΓΓΓ]	[Ἰσύνδιοι]
[ΓΓ]Η	[Ἐφέσιοι]
ΗΓ	[Κλαζομένιοι]
Γ	[Μελήσιοι]

Ἑλλησποντίου φόρου.

35 ΓΓΓΓ Παλαιπερκώσιοι)

(Column 2 on the marble.)

--	[Γεντῖνοι]
--	[Δαννιοι]
--	[Διδυμιοι]

5 --	[Λαμπωνειῆς]
--	[Δαρδανῆς]
--	[Ἀρπαγανοί]
-- ++	Τενέδιοι
--	Σηλυμβριανοί
10 --	Λαμψακηνοί
[ΔΓΓΓ]	[Σιγῆς]
- ΔΔΓΓ	[Ἀβυδηνοί]
--	Χαλκιδόνιοι
	(4 lines.)

--	.....οι
--	[Παισηνοί]
20 ΔΓΓΓ	[Περκώτης]
Γ	[Ἐλατιούσιοι]
ΗΗΗ	[Προκοννήσιοι]
ΓΗΗΗΗ	[Κυζικηνοί]
ΔΔΔΓΓΓ	[Ἀρτακηνοί]
25 Χ	[Περώνιοι]
ΧΓΓΓΔΔΓΓ	[Βυζάντιοι]

Ἐπὶ Θράκης φόρου.

ΔΓΓΓ	[Νεοπολῖται]
ΔΓΓ	[Σκαφασῖται]
30 [ΔΓΓΓ]	[Σκιάθιοι]
ΔΔΓ	[Ἰκῖται]

ΔΔΔ†††|| 'Ο[λο]φύχσιοι  
 ΔΓ†[||]|| Σταγ[υ]ρεται  
 Η Θύσσιω[ι]  
 35 Η Διῆς ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ] Ἀθω

(Column 3 on the marble.)

Η Στρεφσαῖοι  
 [Α] Γαλήφσι[οι]  
 Α Νεοπολι[ται]  
 5 ΔΔΔ†††|| Αιγάντιοι  
 ΗΑ Μαρωνε[ῆ]ς  
 ΑΔΓ††|| Σαναῖοι  
 ΑΔΓ††|| Στάλιοι  
 ΗΗ Σπαρτώλιοι  
 10 ΗΗΗ Πεπαρήθιοι  
 ΗΗ Σίγγιο[ι]  
 Η Ἀφιν[αῖοι]  
 ΑΔΓ††|| Μη[κυπερναῖοι]  
 - - Ὀ[λύνθιοι]  
 15 - - [Σκαβαῖοι]  
 - - Ἀσσ[η]ρ[ι]ται  
 - - [Δί]καια Ἐ[ρετρι].  
 ΑΗ [Τ]ορωναῖοι  
 ΗΗΗ Ἀ[κάνθιοι]  
 20 Α[Η]Η[Η] [Με]νδαῖοι  
 Η Ἀργ[εῖοι]  
 ΑΗ Σκυ[ωναῖοι]  
 ΔΓ††|| Θρα[μβαῖοι]  
 ΔΓ††|| Φηγῆτιοι  
 25 [ΗΗ]Η Αινεᾶται  
 Δ[Γ††]|| Φαρβήλιοι  
 Δ††|| Ὀθόριοι  
 [Α] Σ[ε]ρμύ[λι]ης  
 ΑΗ Σ[αμοθρά]κες  
 30 Χ Αἰν[ιοι]  
 ΑΗ Ποτ[ειδαῖ]ται  
 ΔΔΓ Α[ισώ]νιοι  
 - - - -  
 - - - -

35 [Καρικοῦ φ]ό[ρ]ου.

(Column 4 on the marble.)

Γ†††[||] Αὐλιῆτα[ι]  
 ΔΓ††|| [Κ]αρβασνα[νδῆς]  
 Α Κεδριῆτα[ι]  
 5 ΔΔΔ†††|| [Κρυ]ῆς  
 ΔΔΔ†††|| [Χαλκει]ᾶτα[ι]  
 Α [Πα]σ[α]νδῆς  
 Η [Κ]λαύνδ[οι]  
 ΗΗΗ Φασηλῖται  
 10 [ΑΗ] Ἰηλῦσιοι  
 ΑΗ Καμινῆς  
 ΑΗ Λίνδιοι  
 Α Τηλάνδριοι  
 [Α] Καύνιοι  
 15 - - [Κ]ῶιοι  
 - - [Κι]νδῆς  
 - - Ἀσ[τυ]παλαιῆς  
 - - [Πεδ]ιῆς ἐλ Αἰνδω  
 - - [Καρ]πάθιοι  
 20 - - [Κερά]μιοι  
 - - [Κυδ]ῖοι  
 - - [Καρπ]άθου Ἀρκέσει(α)  
 - - [Ναχσι]ῆται  
 - - [Πλαγαρή]ς  
 (9 lines.)

34 ΔΓ††[||] - - -

(Column 5 on the marble.)

- - [Λ]ηφσνανδῆς  
 - - [Κ]αρνανδῆς  
 - - Μαδνασῆς  
 5 - - [Π]ελεᾶται  
 - - [Μύν]δι[οι]  
 - - [Καλ]υδ[νιοι]  
 - - [Τερ]μερῆς  
 - - - -  
 - - - -





## Reverse.

- 10 Αἱ κ' ἀνδιχάζωντι : τοὶ ξενοδίκαι, : ἐπωμότας : ἑλέσ-  
 τω : ὁ ξένος : ὠπάγων : τὰν δίκαν : ἔχθος προξένω  
 καὶ Φιδίω ξένω : ἀριστίνδαν, : ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς μυαῖα-  
 ίαις : καὶ πλέον, : πέντε καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας, : ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 μειόνοις : ἐννέ' ἄνδρας : αἱ κ' ὁ Φασστός ποῖ τὸν F-  
 15 αστὸν δικάζεται κα' τὰς συμβολάς, : δαμιωργοὺς  
 ἑλέσται : τοὺς ὀρκωμότας ἀριστίνδαν τὰν πε-  
 ντορκίαν ὁμόσαντας : τοὺς ὀρκωμότας τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ν ὀρκον ὁμνύειν, : πληθὺν δὲ νικῆν.

## A.

The greater part of the obverse, down to χρήστω, is an agreement between the two states. The main object of these provisions is to prevent either state from injuring foreign merchants who visited the other's port; so that we have here an instance of that kind of treaty called by the Greeks *συμβολαί*, and suits tried as here provided were *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν* (see above, p. 58). Αἱ τι' συλῶι is for αἱ τις συλῶη, line 2. To understand lines 3-6, bear in mind the meaning of *σῶλα διδόναι* in Greek international law, as spoken of by Demosthenes, xxxv, in *Lacritum*, 13 and 26 (cp. arg. of the speech in *Timocr.* p. 695), and explained by Böckh, *Staatsh.* i. 174. When one state declared war with another, it gave its own citizens the right of seizing the cargo of any vessel belonging to the citizens of the other ('letters of marque'); so Thuk. v. 115: καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ' ὥς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους ληΐσθαι. But even in time of peace, a merchant who has a dispute with another merchant of a different state (*ξένος*) may (unless the settlement of such disputes is provided for by *συμβολαί*) seek to enforce his claim by laying hands either on his adversary or some of his property (*ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν*), and it is this seizure in distraint (as well as mere freebooting), which is here expressed by the word *συλῶν*. A court was provided, both at Chaleion and Oiantheia, before which a foreigner who had unjustly suffered seizure might get redress: certain rules for this court are

given in lines 4 foll. As regards the dialect note the use of  $\sigma$  where Attic has  $\sigma\theta$ ; the form  $\muειόνους$ ; and the frequent dropping of the aspirate, which is however inserted in  $\deltaγειν$  and  $\xiχθος = \xiκτος$ . Kirchhoff warns us not to date this treaty too early: the style of speech is rude, but is characteristic of the manners of the people. The inhabitants of these regions were born freebooters: Thuk. i. 5; Polyb. xvii. 4-5.

*Translation.* 'No Oiantheian, if he make a seizure, shall carry off a foreign merchant from Chaleian soil, nor a Chaleian a merchant from Oiantheian soil; nor shall either Oiantheian or Chaleian seize a merchant's cargo within the territory of the other city. If any one breaks this rule, it shall be lawful to seize him with impunity ( $\alphaὐδᾶτως$ ). The property of a foreigner may be seized on the sea without incurring the penalty, except in the actual harbour of the city. If any one make unlawful seizure, four dr. be the penalty; and if he retain the goods so seized beyond ten days, let him be fined half as much again as the amount of the seizure. If a Chaleian have sojourned over a month in Oiantheia, or an Oiantheian in Chaleion, he must (as if a  $\μέτοικος$ ) sue and be sued in the courts of the city of his sojourn.'

## B.

The remainder of the obverse and the whole of the reverse are inscribed in a slightly different, perhaps more recent hand. It contains provisions made by one of the two cities (presumably Oiantheia, as the tablet was found there) regulating the treatment of aliens, apparently with no special reference to Chaleion. But as these provisions are connected in significance with those of the  $\sigmaυμβολαί$ , they are inscribed on the same tablet.

*Translation.* 'The proxenos who is not true to his official position shall be fined double (the amount claimed by his client) [the sense is clear, however we attempt to explain the form  $\thetaωήσω$ ; cf.  $\thetaωή$ .] If the judges in the aliens' court are divided in opinion, the foreigner who is plaintiff ( $\delta \epsilon πάγων$ ) shall choose additional jurors (excluding his proxenos or private host) of the worthiest men, fifteen for claims of a

mina or more, nine for less. If a citizen proceed against a fellow-citizen in accordance with the terms of the *συμβολαί* [e. g., if an Oiantheian proceeds against an Oiantheian who has unjustly seized the property of a *ξένος*; *συμβολαί* = the above agreement with Chaleion, and probably other agreements of a similar kind], then the magistrates, having first sworn by the five gods, shall choose the jurors, worthy citizens, who shall swear the same oath, and the majority shall decide.'

## 45 [32].

## Thurioi and Tarentum: B. C. 440-430.

On a bronze spear-head found at Olympia in 1878: now at Berlin. A. Furtwängler, *Archäol. Zeit.* (1879), p. 149; Rühl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 548 (cp. nos. 548 a, 548 b); *Imagines* (1898), p. 31; Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 38; Dittenberger-Furgold, *Olympia-Inscr.* 254; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4615; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 35; Michel, *Recueil*, 1085.

Σκῦλα ἀπὸ Θουρίων Ταραν-  
τῖνοι ἀνέθηκαν Διὶ Ὀλυ-  
μπίῳι δεκάταν.

On the founding of Thurioi see Grote, pt. 2, ch. 47; Curtius, *Hist. Gr.* ii. 487 foll.; and Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. pp. 530 foll. It was in the spring of B. C. 443. The first few years were occupied in a struggle with Tarentum, the Thurians claiming possession of all the land northward as far as, and inclusive of, the river and town of Siris, cp. Herod. viii. 62. The struggle lasted about ten years, and ended in a compromise, which showed that Tarentum had rather the advantage in the war: Strabo, vi. p. 264, φησὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος τοὺς Ταραντίνους Θουρίοις καὶ Κλεανδρίδῃ τῇ στρατηγῇ φυγάδι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πολεμοῦντας περὶ τῆς Σιρίτιδος συμβῆναι, καὶ συνοικῆσαι μὲν κοινῇ, τὴν δ' ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων. Comp. Th. Müller, *De Thuriotum Republica*, Gött. 1838; R. Pappritz, *Thuriā, seine Entstehung*, &c., Berlin, 1891.

## 46.

## Campaign in the Hellespont: about B. C. 440.

Slab of Pentelic marble in the National Museum at Athens. Στοιχηδόν. Kumanudes, *Ἀθήναιοι*, x (1881), pp. 524 foll.; Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, xvii (1882),

pp. 623 foll. ; U. von Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxii (1887), 243, note 3 ; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), 446 a (p. 108) ; Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigramm. graec.* 36 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 598 ; Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* ii. p. 221, note 1 ; Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alt. Gesch.* ii (1899), p. 20.

(a) Col. I :

'Εγ Χερρονήσῳι  
 'Αθηναίων ἑοίδε  
 ἀπέθανον.  
 'Επιτέλης στρατηγός.  
 5 'Ερεχθίδος.  
 Πυθόδωρος,  
 'Αριστόδικος,  
 Τήλεφος,  
 Πυθόδωρος.  
 10 Αἰγυγίδος.  
 'Επιχάρης,  
 Μνησίφιλος,  
 Φαιδιμίδης,  
 Λάχης,  
 15 Νικόφιλος.  
 Πανδιονίδος.  
 Λυσικλῆς.  
 Λεωντίδος.  
 Χαιρῆς.  
 20 Οἰνηγίδος.  
 'Ροδοκλῆς,  
 Εὐρύβοτος,  
 Πόλιτης,  
 'Ηροκλείδης.  
 25 Κεκροπίδος.  
 'Αρίσταρχος,  
 Καρυστόνικος,  
 Θεόμνηστος,  
 'Αρίσταρχος,  
 30 Εὐκράτης,  
 Νικόμαχος.  
 'Ιπποθωντίδος.  
 Σωτελίδης,  
 Ποσειδιππος.

35 Αἰαντίδος·  
 Δίφιλος.  
 Ἀντιοχίδος·  
 Κράτων,  
 Ἀντικράτης,  
 40 Εὐδοξος.

(b) Col. II:

Ἐμ Βυζαντίωι  
 Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἰδ[ε]  
 ἀπέθανον·

A similar list of twelve names belonging to ten tribes.

(c) Cols. I and II:

Ὅϊδε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 πολέμοις ἀπέθανον.

List of nineteen names of eight tribes.

(d) Across both columns:

Ὅϊδε παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἥβην  
 βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' εὐκλείεσσαν πατρίδα,  
 ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στενάχειμ πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας·  
 αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μνήμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.

In Col. I, the names in ll. 15, 18, 19, 35, 36, and similarly in Col. II, l. 28, the name of Ἀρχέπολις have been subsequently inserted by another hand. For Χαιρῆς=Χαιρέας see Dr. Wilhelm's forthcoming report on the excavations at Lusoi.

This epitaph was referred by Kirchhoff to the year 408, but as others have shown, it is of an earlier date. The character of the letters suffices to prove this. The names Καρυστόνικος (i. 27) and Ναξιάδης (ii. 31—not given here) were probably given to their owners when the Athenian expeditions against Karystos and Naxos (B. C. 472-469) were fresh in men's minds; this would bring the date of the inscription down to soon after the middle of the century. We may reasonably, therefore, refer it to about B. C. 440 when, at the time of the Samian revolt, Byzantion cast off her allegiance to Athens (Thuk. i. 115, 117) and the whole of the Thracian region was disturbed (Hill, *Sources for Gk. Hist.* pp. 141, 142).

## 47 [33].

## Building of the Parthenon : B. C. 438.

The text is from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 298 (cp. iv (1), pp. 37 and 146).  
Στοιχηδόν.

Θεοί. Ἀθηνᾶ. Τύχη·  
Κιχῆσιππος ἐγραμμά-  
τενε ἀγάλματος ἐπι-  
στάτησι Μυρρινούσιος.  
λήμμα παρὰ

This inscription was never finished, but replaced by another as follows :

*C. I. A.* iv. p. 146 ; Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1889, pp. 6, 7, n. 1 ; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xiii (1889), pp. 171, 172, n. 7 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 558 ; Kohler, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.*, 1889, p. 223. Στοιχηδόν :

		Κιχῆσιππος ἐγ[ρ]-
		αμμάτενε ἀγάλ[μ]-
		ατος ἐπιστάτ[η]-
		ι Μυρρινούσιος. [Λ]-
5		ῆμμα παρὰ ταμι[ώ]-
	Η	ν, τοῖς Δημόστρα-
		τος ἐγραμμάτεν-
		ε Χσυπεταών ταμ-
		ιαί Κτησίων, Στ[ρ]-
10		ωσίας, Ἀντιφάτ[η]-
		ς, Μένανδρος, Θ[υμ]-
		οχάρης, Σμόκο[ρδ] ?-
		ος, Φειδελείδ[ης].

	Π Δ Δ Δ	χρυσίου ἐωνήθ-
15	Π Τ Τ Χ	η, σταθμὸν Π Τ Χ Π
	Χ Χ Χ Π	τιμὴ τούτου Π Τ Τ Τ -
	Η Π Τ Τ	
	Τ Τ Π Η	ἐλέφας ἐωνήθη
	Η Δ Δ Δ	- - -
20	Δ Τ Τ Τ	

This image was the chryselephantine statue of Athena

sculptured by Pheidias B. C. 438, called in another inscription given by Köhler (*C. I. A.* iv (1), no. 299 a) ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν. The funds were supplied from the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, of whom however only seven are named. Out of the 100 talents (line 6) received by the commissioners from the ταμίαι, 87 tal. 4652 dr. were spent on gold (weighing over 6 tal. 1500 dr.) and 2 tal. 743 dr. (or a little more) on an uncertain amount of ivory. The relation of gold to silver as expressed in this inscription was as nearly as possible 14 : 1. (Th. Reinach, *Rev. Numismatique*, 1893, pp. 13, 14.)

## 48 [35].

List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the year  
B. C. 436-435.

Στοιχηδόν. The text is given from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* vol. i. 244; *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1870, p. 108; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>1</sup>, 17 (om. in ed. 2); Michel, *Recueil*, 559.

A comparison of the various quota-lists seems to prove that the increase in the tribute formerly imputed to Perikles did not really take place. We give here the results obtained by U. Pedrolì (*I tributi degli alleati d'Atene*, p. 199, in Beloch's *Studi di Storia antica*, fasc. I, 1891, pp. 101 foll.).

Period 454-3 to 451-0 Total tribute per ann. 495 tal. 2270 dr.

„ 450-49 „ 447-6	„ „	455 „ 2430 „
„ 446-5 „ 440-39	„ „	414 „ 5170 „
„ 439-8 „ 437-6	„ „	436 „ 3310 „
„ 428-7 „ 426-5	„ „	410 „ 2980 „

To account for the statement of Thukydides that the tribute at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War was 600 talents (ii. 13), we must suppose him to be using the word φόρος in its wider sense, in which it would include both τὰ ἐκ Σάμου and the δεκάτη imposed on traffic through the Hellespont. See Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 556. In the present list the order of regions is altered, and Ionia and Karia are grouped together (see note on no. 33, p. 51). The last two headings in the list are explained by reference to the mode of making the reassessments, as described in no. 64 (see notes). Πόλεις αὐταὶ ταῖς



μεναι are cities which for some exceptional reason received the privilege of assessing themselves (see the discussion of this rubric in Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 207, note 4). Πόλεις, ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν are those whose assessment was fixed at the suggestion, not of the τάκται nor of members of the βουλή, but of private Athenian citizens who volunteered advice to the βουλή (cp. Andok. *de Myst.* 84 and note on no. 64).

Ἐπὶ [τῆς μιᾶς δεούσης εἰ]-  
κοστ[ῆς ἀρχῆς, ἥι]  
Φιλέ[ταιρος Θεοδ]-  
έκτου . . . . .  
5 ἐγραμμάτευε. Ἐλ]-  
ληνοσ[αμίας ἦν Δι]-  
ονύσιος - - - -

(Column 1 on the marble.)			
[Ἱ]ωνικὸς φόρος.			[Πελεᾶ]ται
	Κάννιοι		
10	Τηλάνδριοι		[Ἐλαιέα]
	[Π]ασανδῆς		[παρὰ Μ]ύριναν
	[Καρβασ]νανδῆ[ς]		[Θερμαῖ]οι
	[παρὰ Κ]ᾶννο[ν]	35	[ἐχς Ἱκάρ]ον
	Δ - - -		[Κ]αμ[ιρῆς]
15	Πῑῑῑῑῑ		Χαλ[κεᾶται]
	ΔΔΔῑῑῑῑ		Κυμ[αῖοι]
	ΔΠῑῑῑῑῑ		Τῆ[ῖοι]
	ΗΗ	40	Ἰη[λῦσιοι]
	Χ		Φα[σηλίται]
20	ΠᾶΔΔΔῑ		Νισ[ύριοι]
	ῑῑῑῑῑ	- ΔΠ	Ἐρυσ[θ]ραῖοι
	ΗΗΗ	[ῑ]ῑῑῑῑ	καὶ χ[συντελῆς]
	[Δ]Πῑῑῑῑῑ	45	Μυρ[ι]ναῖοι
	[Π]ῑῑῑῑῑ		παρὰ [Κύμην]
25	Ἱ[σίλδ]οι	Η	Οἰνα[ῖοι]
	Κ[ολοφ]ώνιοι		[ἐ]χς Ἱκάρου
			[Κ]ῶιοι



-----	[Ὀλοφύ]χσ[ιοι]	Η	Σαραῖοι
40 HH	[Ὀλύμβιοι]	70 Η	Σίγγιοι
Η	Μ[ηκυπερναῖοι]		
Π	Νεοπ[ολίται]		
	Μενδαί[ων]		Πόλεις αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι.
ΔΓΗIII	Σκαφσαῖοι	Π	Γαλαῖοι
45 [Η]	Θύσσιοι	ΔΔΓ	Σαρταῖοι
[ΠΗ]-	Βεργαῖοι	75 Η	Ἀμόργιοι
[ΔΓΗII]	Σκιάθιοι	ΔΓΗIII	Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι]
-----	Πεπαρήθιοι		ἐκ Καρπάθου
[ΔΓΗIII]	Ἀργίλιοι	ΔΓΗIII	Κάσιοι
50 -----	Δικαιοπολίτ[αι]	Γ	Αἰολίται
	Ἐρετριῶν	80 Π	Μιλκώριοι
[ΓΗ]-II	Σερμαῖοι	ΓΗΗII	Φαρβήλιοι
-----	[Δι]ῆς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθω	[Δ]ΓΗIII	Καλλιπολίται[ι]
-----	[Ἰκι]οι	[ΔΓΗII]	Χεδρώλιοι
55 -----	[Σαμό]θραικες	-----	[- - - ῆ]ς
[XX]X	Θάσιοι		
-----	Μαρωνῖται	85	Πόλεις, ἅς οἱ ἰδιῶνται ἐνέγραψαν φόρο[ν] φέρειν.
-----	Φηγήτιοι		
-----	Αἰγάντιοι		
60 -----	Θραμβαῖοι		
-----	Ἀισώνιοι]		
-----	Ἀ[κ]άνθιοι]		
-----	Στρεφσαῖοι]		
XΠ	Ἀβδηρίτ[αι]	90 ΔΓΗΗII	Κλ[ε]ωναί Δ[ια]κρής [ἀπὸ] Χαλκι[δέων]
65 XΠ	Ποτειδεᾶ[ται]	ΔΔΔ	[Σύμη]
ΔΔΓ	Σκαβλαῖοι	ΓΗΗII	-----
Π	Ἀσσηρίται	ΔΔΓ	[Σίνος]
HHH(Γ)ΗΗΗII	Σπαρῳῶλιοι	95 ΔΔΔΗΗΗII	-----

## 49 [37].

## Financial Administration of Perikles : B. C. 435 or 434.

A slab inscribed on both sides ; found at Kharvati (Attika), now in the Louvre. Στοιχηδόν. Kirchhoff, *C. I. A. i.* no. 32 and iv (1), p. 63 ; Fröhner, *Inscr. gr. du Louvre*, p. 98 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 21 and *Add.* vol. ii. p. 808 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 75 ; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 10 ; comp. Bockh, *Staatsk.*<sup>2</sup> ii.

pp. 41-48; Beloch, *Rhein. Mus.* 43 (1888), pp. 113 foll.; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>1</sup>. p. 214, note 2; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alt. Gesch.* ii (1899), pp. 88 foll.; E. Cavaignac, *Rev. de Philol.* 1900, pp. 135 foll.

The two sides of this stone have generally been supposed to represent two different decrees; but Meyer has given reasons for supposing that they are one and the same instrument. Böckh held, on epigraphic grounds, that the inscription belongs to a period not earlier than 420 B.C., and his view, assigning the measures themselves to the same period, has more recently been accepted by Beloch, Michel, and Cavaignac. But, as the Treasure-lists (see no. 66) began in B.C. 434, Kirchhoff argues with much force that this decree must have been passed the year before, viz. in B.C. 435 (see his *Bemerkungen zu d. Urkunden d. Schatzmeister d. anderen Götter*, Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad., 1864). At the same time the preponderance of datives in *-aus* and the constant use of *σύν* instead of *ξύν* show that the inscription was not actually engraved before B.C. 420. Possibly this was done some time after the troubles of B.C. 413-411, when, as we see from no. 78, it became necessary to revise the laws and otherwise record the provisions of the constitution. Although the present document contains a good deal of only temporary importance, it also contains instructions of a more permanent character, for the *tamiai* of the state and of the temples, and it would accordingly be desirable to have it engraved.

The policy of Perikles was based upon careful finance. In B.C. 438 the Parthenon was practically finished, itself a magnificent *ἀνάθημα* to Athena, and intended to be both the centre of the national festival and the Treasury of the state. The treasures belonging to Athena had been for some time managed by ten *ραφαῖαι* elected yearly, one from each tribe, each great Panathenaic festival (the third year of each Olympiad) marking the end of a financial period (see on no. 66, and § 14). The money-treasure was stored in the Opisthodomos of the old Athena-temple, and on the completion of the Parthenon the treasures in kind were kept in the Pronaos, Parthenon proper, and Hekatompedos (see no. 66). The lists of the Treasurers of Athena begin in B.C. 434, and present an almost perfect series for thirty years.

In the document before us we perceive the mind of Perikles, bent on investigating and reorganizing all the property of the state, and making all her resources available for national purposes. It appears that, during the military efforts of the last few years, large sums had been borrowed from the treasuries of the 'Other Gods.' In B.C. 445, however, peace had been purchased by the 'Thirty years' truce'; and, in spite of the Samian expedition in B.C. 440, a period of comparative repose had increased the Athenian resources. This decree was moved by the same Kallias, perhaps, as was killed at Potidaia in B.C. 432 while in command of the Athenian forces; Thuk. i. 63. 3; see also nos. 37, 51, 52.

(*Obverse*, § 2) It is decided to repay at once the sums due to the 'Other Gods,' a reserve of 3000 talents having now accumulated in the treasury of Athena; ἐς πόλιν = the Akropolis (Thuk. ii. 15; Plut. *Pelop.* 18; no. 40, l. 60; no. 41, l. 18). § 3. The repayment is to be made out of φόρος now in hand, or just coming into hand, and from the tenth which was paid on public estates let out to private persons—a tax which was farmed out (Dittenberger). § 4. Of the λογισταί we have heard in no. 33, p. 51. For the βουλή comp. Andok. *de Myst.* 15; αὐτοκράτωρ = 'without consulting the ἐκκλησία.' § 5. Search is to be made for all receipts and accounts, and the priests and curators of each temple are to give all information. § 6. A board of Treasurers is to be appointed yearly, to take charge of the treasures belonging to the 'Other Gods,' like the Treasurers of Athena: see on no. 66. They are probably ten in number, since they are to be elected 'in the same way as the Treasurers of Athena,' i. e. one from each tribe; yet in the treasure-list of B.C. 429-428 (*C.I.A.* i. 194) their number appears to have been five. The treasures consisted chiefly of gold and silver, coined or bullion, and gold and silver vessels; they were henceforward to be kept in the Opisthodomos (§ 13), and carefully registered year by year (§ 7, § 8). Next, in § 9 it is provided that what is over of the sums specified in § 3, after payment of the debts, shall be spent on the docks and the fortifications.

The opening of the reverse is mutilated<sup>1</sup>. In § 10 certain sums

<sup>1</sup> M. Héron de Villefosse has kindly provided an impression of this portion.

seem to be voted for the beautifying of the Akropolis and the furnishing of the Panathenaia. § 11. Henceforward the Treasures of Athena are to accumulate, and no sum above 10,000 drachmas may be voted even for this purpose, without a bill of indemnity. This resembles the later enactment of B.C. 431 (Thuk. ii. 24 ; cp. viii. 15) respecting the reserve fund of 1000 talents. § 12. We now pass from the Treasures of Athena to the public funds. If Kirchhoff's restoration of τὰ ἐκάστοτε γυνόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ταμίαις or Christ's reading adopted in the text is right, it is ordered that the surplus of the yearly φόρος shall be deposited with the Treasurers of Athena. Yet it does *not* become the property of the goddess ; consequently it is administered by the Hellenotamiai and the 500, not by the Treasurers of Athena. § 13 has been already explained, and § 14 is plain enough. Whatever treasures of Athena are still unweighed, are to be weighed, not only by the present ταμίαι, but by all the former ταμίαι who are living and present in Athens : ἀεί is important for the sense, and more certainly right than some of the other restorations, which however we have reproduced, as giving the probable drift of the decree. The increase of the reserve which it was hoped to establish can never have come into existence, since war broke out in the summer of B.C. 433, and it is difficult to believe that any surplus can have been paid into the treasury.

*Obverse.*

- § 1. [Ἔ]δοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Μνησίθεος ἐ-  
[γ]ραμματεὺς, Εὐπείθεος ἐπεστάτει. Καλλίας εἶπε· § 2. ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς  
[τ]ὰ χρήματα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντ-  
[α] ἀνενήνεγκται ἐς πόλιν, ἃ ἐφσήφιστο, νομίσματος ἡμεδαποῦ. § 3. ἀποδι-  
5 [δ]όναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσίν ἐστιν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφσηφισμ-  
[έ]ντα, τὰ τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ὄντα νῦν καὶ τὰλλα ἃ ἐστὶ τούτων  
[τ]ῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης, ἐπειδὴν πραθῇ. § 4. λογισάσθων δὲ  
[οἱ] λογιστὰι ὅτι τριάκοντα ὅλιπερ νῦν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκρ-  
[ιβῶ]ς, συναγωγῆς δὲ τῶν λογιστῶν ἢ βουλῇ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔστω. § 5. ἀποδόντων  
10 [δὲ] τὰ χρήματα ὅτι πρυτάνεις μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐχσालειφόντων, ἐπει-  
[δὴν] ἀποδώσιν, ζητήσαντες τὰ τε πινάκια καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα καὶ ἐὰν π-  
[ου] ἕλθοι ἢ γεγραμμένα. ἀποφαινόντων δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὅτι τε ἱερ-

- [ῆς κ]αὶ ἔοι ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος οἶδεν. § 6. ταμίας δὲ ἀποκυαμεύει-  
 [ν το]ύτων τῶν χρημάτων, ὅταμπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, καθάπερ τοὺς τῶν ἱ-  
 15 [ερώ]ν τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. οὗτοι δὲ ταμιεύνοντων ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθ-  
 [οδ]όμῳ τὰ τῶν θεῶν χρήματα, ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον, καὶ συνανοιγόν-  
 των καὶ συγκλημόντων τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου καὶ συσσημαινόςθω-  
 ν τοῖς τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις. § 7. παρὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπισ-  
 20 ταιῶν καὶ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, οἱ νῦν διαχειρίζουσι]-  
 ν, ἀπαριθμησάσθων καὶ ἀποστησάσθων τὰ χρήματα ἐναντίον τῆς βουλ[ῆ]-  
 s ἐμ πόλει καὶ παραδεχσάσθων οἱ ταμίαι οἱ λαχόντες παρὰ τῶν νῦν  
 ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφσάντων (μ)ῖαι ἅπαντα καθ' ἕκαστόν τε  
 τὸν θεὸν τὰ χρήματα ὅποσα ἔστιν ἕκαστῳ καὶ συμπάντων κεφάλαιο-  
 ν, χωρὶς τὸ τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον. § 8. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναγραφόντων  
 25 οἱ αἰεὶ ταμίαι ἐς στήλῃν καὶ λόγον διδόντων τῶν τε ὄντων χρημάτων  
 καὶ τῶν προσιόντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἕαν τι ἀ[π]αναλίσκῃται κατὰ τὸν ἐ-  
 ναντιὸν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ εὐθύνας διδόντων, καὶ ἐκ Παναθηναί-  
 ων ἐς Παναθήναια τὸλ λόγον διδόντων, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ-  
 [α]μεινόντες. τὰς δὲ στήλας, ἐν αἷς ἂν ἀναγράφωσι τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἱερ-  
 30 [ά, θε]ῖτων ἐμ πόλει οἱ ταμίαι. § 9. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀποδεδομένα ἦι τοῖς θεοῖς  
 [τὰ χρ]ήματα, ἐς τὸ νεώριον καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῖς περιούσι χρήσθαι χρήμασ-  
 [ω].

## Reverse.

§ 10. -----

- .... τὰ λίθ[ι]να καὶ τὰς Νύ[κ]ας τὰς χρυσ[ά]ς καὶ τὰ π[ο]μπεία .....  
 35 ..... ἐπεὶ παντελῶς ..... εἰ . ρεσ . α . τα π[ο]μπεία ἀνερέχθ-  
 ῃ τῇ θεῷ κ[α]τὰ τὰ ἐφσηφί[σ]μένα ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν ἀκρόπολιν .....  
 ... καθιστ[ά]μενα καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] ..... ἐπ[ὶ] Π[ε]ρικλ[έ]ου[ς] (?) .....  
 ..... ἕκαστ[α] Ἑλλ[η]νοταμί[αι] καὶ ἐπισκευαζόντων αὐτὰ  
 μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστ[α]τῶν τ[ῶ]ν αἰ[ε]ὶ ὄντων, οἱ [δὲ] ταμίαι [τ]ὰ [χρ]ήματα μερι-  
 40 ζόντων μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ... ὥσπερ τοῦ[ς] πρ .....  
 ..... λεσ .. μετὰ τῶ[ν] ἐπιστ[α]τῶν ὅπως ἄριστ[α] καὶ κάλλισ-  
 τα κοσμηθ[ή]σεται ἡ ἀκρ[ό]πολις καὶ ἐπισκευασθ[ή]σεται τὰ πομπε-  
 ῖα. § 11. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χρήμασ[ιν] τοῖς τῆς Ἀθηναίας, τ[ό]ις τε νῦν οὖσιν ἐ-  
 μ πόλει κα[ὶ] ἄτ[τι] ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀν[α]φέρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἀπανα-  
 λίσκειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλο [τι, μηδὲ] ἐς ταῦτα ὑπὲρ μυρίας δραχμὰς  
 45 δοῦναι κελεύειν, ἕαν τι δέ[η]ι ἐς ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς χρήμασ-  
 ων, ἕαν μὴ τῇν ἄδειαν φσηφί[σ]ηται δὲ δῆμος ἕανπερ ἡ [φσηφ]ος δίδω-  
 ται περὶ ἐσφ[ο]ράς. ἕαν δὲ τις [εἴ]πηι ἡ ἐπιφσηφίσῃ μὴ ἐφσηφισμένης  
 πω τῆς ἀδείας χρήσθαι τοῖς χρήμασιν τοῖς τῆς Ἀθηναίας, ἐνεχέσ-  
 θω τοῖς αὐ[τ]οῖς οἷσπερ ἐάν τι (?) ἐσ[φ]έρειν εἴπηι ἡ ἐπιφ[σ]ηφίσῃ. § 12. ἐκ δ-

- 50 ἔ τῶν φόρῳ]ν κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοτε περιό-  
ντα παρὰ τοῖς] ταμίαισι τῶν [τῆς Ἀθ]ηναίας τοὺς Ἑλληνο[ταμίαις. § 13. ἐπει-  
δὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶν διακοσίων τα[λάντων]ν, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ[ισήφισται] ὁ  
δῆμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀ[ποδοθ]ῆναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, τα[μεινέσθω] τὰ  
μὲν τῆς Ἀθ[ηναίας] χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεχσιὰ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου], τὰ δὲ τ-  
55 ὧν ἄλλων θε[ῶν] ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ῇ.  
§ 14. ὅποσα δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν [ἱερῶ]ν ἄστατά ἐστιν ἢ ἀν[άριθμα], ταῦτ-  
α ἀριθμῆσαι, νῦν μετὰ τῶν τ[εττάρ]ων ἀρχῶν, ἃ ἐδίδο[σαν] αἱ τὸλ λό-  
γον ἐκ Παν[αθηναίων] ἐς Πα[ναθη]ναια, ὅποσα μὲν χρυ[σᾶ] ἐστιν ἢ ὀπό-  
σα ἀργυρᾶ ἢ ὑ[π]ᾶρ[χ]ύρα, στῆ[σαν]τας - - - - -  
- - - -

## 50 [38].

## Athenian administration of the Delian Temple.

B. C. 434-432.

See Böckh (*Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1834), *Erklärung einer Attischen Urkunde über das Vermögen des Apollinischen Heiligtums auf Delos*; *C. I. A.* i. 283; Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* viii. p. 283; V. von Schoeffer, *de Deli ins. rebus* (Berliner Studien, ix. 1889), p. 29. The marble should be at Athens, but Dr. Wilhelm writes that neither Lolling nor himself has been able to find it.

The first six lines are sadly broken, but they seem to contain proper names, Διόφ[αντος] or Διοφ[άνης], [Ν]εάνθης or [Κλ]εάνθης, Βουλακλῆς, Δημοθάλης, Ἀναξίδημος. These are the Athenian board (elsewhere styled Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες) who were a kind of Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the management of the property of the Delian temple. The temple was more or less under Attic influence from the foundation of the Athenian alliance (B.C. 477): but the direct control of it was undertaken by them in B.C. 426, when the Athenians 'purified' Delos and re-established the Delian festival (Thuk. iii. 104). In B.C. 422 they expelled the Delians and occupied the island with kleruchs; but the next year they restored their lands (Thuk. v. i. 32), and retained only the temple, allowing the natives some part in the administration of the Sanctuary (see no. 76). After the defeat at Aigospotamoi of course the Delians claimed their own temple once more (see nos. 83 and 104). The date of the inscription is fixed by the Athenian archons Krates and



Apseudes. The alphabet used is the Ionic, as in no. 76. Copies of these inscriptions existed at Delos, and some of them have been published by Homolle (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii. pp. 282 foll.). The inscription goes on—

§ 1. Lines 7-9. - - παρ]ὰ Δηλίων ὀφειλόντ[ων - - | - -] ἐγένετο καὶ αἱ παρα[- - | - κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίου] σύμπαν ΠΠΗΗΗΗΔ - - (55410 *dr.* or more.)

§ 2. Lines 10-15. - - σιον τὸ βαλανεῖον ὥρισαν τ[ό? - - | - - ὠικοδ]όμησαν, τὴν ῥήνειαν ὥρισαν αν - - | - - ἐδάνεισαν ΠΤΤΤΤΔΔ ἐπιδε[κάτοις τόκοις πέντε ἔτη, ὥστε ἀπο]διδόναι τοῦ]ς δανεισαμέ- νους ΑΤΤΤΧΧΧΔ[ΔΔ, τό τε ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ὦν | ἔδα]- νείσαντο. χρόνος ἄρχει Μεταγεινιῶν μὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Κράτητος (B.C. 434-433), | ἐν] Δήλῳ δὲ Βουφονιῶν μὴν ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρους.

§ 1 appears to refer to the recovery of loans due to the temple; cp. no. 104.

§ 2 refers partly to the measuring and marking of the boundary of certain sacred lands and properties; and the lending of moneys. A few figures will prove Böckh's restorations true. Capital lent 9 *tal.* 20 *dr.* = 54020 *dr.*; which at  $\frac{1}{10}$ th interest, ἐπιδε[κάτοις τόκοις] (= 10 *p. c.*) yields 5402 *dr.* yearly. For five years this equals 27010 *dr.*: add capital, and you get 81030 *dr.* = 13 *tal.* 3030 *dr.*

§ 3. Lines 16-20. [Τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Δήλῳ τὴν | ἱερὰν ἐμίσθω- σαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ [- - δέκα ἔτη. χρόνος ἄρ- | χ]ει Ποσιδηῖων μὴν Ἀθήνησι ἄρχοντος Κράτητος (B.C. 434-433), ἐ[ν Δήλῳ δὲ Ποσιδηῖων μ[ὴν] ἄρχοντος Εὐπτέρους, ὥστε ἀπο- διδόναι τῇμ μίσθωσ[ιν ἀπάντων τούτων τοὺς με|μ]ισθωμένους κατὰ τὰς ξυγγραφάς. μισθώσεως κεφ[άλαιον τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἔτους] | ΠΗΗΗΔΠΤ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐτῶν ΠΗΗΗ - -

§ 4. Lines 20-24. [τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν Ῥήνεια | ἱερὰν ἐμί- σθωσαν δέκα ἔτη. χρόνος [ἄρχει Ἀθήνησιν Γαμηλιῶν] | μὴν ἄρ- χοντος Ἀψεύδους (B.C. 433-432), ἐν Δήλῳ Ἱερὸς [μὴν ἄρχοντος - -] | ρου, ὥστε ἀποδιδόναι τὸμ μεμισθωμέ[νον ἐκάστου τοῦ ἔτους τὴν μισθ]ω- σιν ΤΧΗΔ.

In § 3 the leases of temple lands in Delos are recorded, in § 4 the lease of temple lands in Rheneia. The 'Holy' Month is known to answer to the latter part of Gamelion and

the earlier part of Anthesterion in the Attic calendar (see Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v. pp. 29, 30).

§ 5. Lines 24-25. Τὴν θάλατταν τὴν πο - - | - - τὴν ἐν 'Ρηνεῖαι ἐμίσθωσαν δέκα [ἔτη . .]

This is the lease of a fishery belonging to the Temple: so Strabo speaks (p. 642) of the fisheries of the Ephesian Artemis; cp. Pausanias (i. 38. 1) about the salt streams called 'Πεῖτοί sacred to the Eleusinian deities.

## 51 [39].

## Treaty between Athens and Rhegion. B.C. 433-432.

In the British Museum. *Στοιχηδόν*. See *Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* no. v; *C. I. A.* i. 33, and iv (1), p. 13; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* vol. 33 (1877), p. 384; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 25; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 50, no. 67 (x); Roberts-Gardner, ii. 12; cp. Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iii. pp. 21, 616.

[Θεοί. Πρέσβεις ἐκ 'Ρηγίου, τοὶ τὴν χυμμαχίαν  
[ἐποίησαντο καὶ τὸν ὅρκον] Κλέανδρος Χσεν-  
[....., .....] τίνου, Σιληνὸς Φώκον,  
[..... 'Επ' 'Αφ]σεύδους ἄρχοντος κ-  
5 [αὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἣν Κριτιά]δης πρῶτος ἐγραμμ-  
[άτευε, . . ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. 'Α-  
[καμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Χ]αρίας ἐγραμμάτευ-  
[ε, Τιμόχσενος ἐπεστάτ]ει. Καλλι-  
[ας εἶπε· χυμμαχίαν εἶν]αι 'Αθηναίοις καὶ  
10 ['Ρηγίνοις. τὸν δὲ ὅρκον] ὁμοσάντων 'Αθηνα-  
[ῖοι κατὰ τάδε· ἔσται πι]στὰ καὶ ἄδολα καὶ ὅ-  
[απλᾶ ὅ] πάντα τὰ ἀπ' 'Αθην[α]ίων 'Ρηγίνοις κα-  
[ὶ ..... καὶ χυμ]μαχοὶ ἐσόμεθα πισ-  
[τοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἰσ]χυροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς  
15 [..... καὶ] ὠφελήσομεν . . .

From the identity of the names of the mover &c. it follows that this and the following Treaty were concluded on the same day. Kallias would seem to be the same person who moved the decree no. 49. For the subject, see Thuk. iii. 86, who speaks of the first interference of Athens in Sicilian affairs B.C. 427: οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ζύμμαχοι δὲ ..... τοῖς Λεοντῖνοις . . . 'Ρηγῖνοι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντῖνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς 'Αθήνας πέμψαντες

οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς κ.τ.λ. Gorgias of Leontinoi was one of the envoys on that occasion. Our inscription probably gives the 'old standing treaty' referred to by Thukydides (see Grote, ch. 57). The Korkyraian expedition excited among the Sicilians the hopes of an Athenian alliance, and Korkyra itself was regarded by the Athenians as a convenient stepping-stone to Sicily (Thuk. i. 36, 44). Hence the embassies with which this and the following inscription are concerned. We see from Thuk. vi. 44-46 that the Rhegines did not receive the Athenians in a very friendly way on the occasion of the Sicilian expedition, although they were supposed to be ἐπιτήδειοι.

## 52 [40].

## Treaty between Athens and Leontinoi: B. C. 433-432.

Discovered near the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens. Στοιχιδόν. Kumanudes in *Ἀθήναιον*, v. pp. 422 foll.; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 1877, i. pp. 384 foll. = *Mél. d'Épigr. gr.* pp. 22-29; *C. I. A.* iv (1), 33 a (p. 13); Michel, *Recueil*, 4; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 24; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 50, no. 68 (xi); Roberts-Gardner, ii. 13; cf. Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iii. pp. 7, 19, 616. Several small fragments of this inscription, hardly allowing of restoration, are still unpublished.

[Θε]οί. Πρέσβεις ἐγ Λεον[τ]-  
 ἴνων, \*οἱ τὴν χσυμμαχί-  
 αν ἐποίησαντο καὶ τὸν \*  
 ὄρκον· Τιμήνωρ Ἀγαθοκ-  
 5 λέους, Σῶσις Γλαυκίου, Γέ-  
 λων Ἐχσηκέστου, γραμμα-  
 τεὺς Θεότιμος Ταυρίσ-  
 κου. Ἐπ' Ἀφσεύδους ἄρχοντ-  
 10 os καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, \*ἡι Κρ-  
 ιτιάδης ἐγραμμάτενε,  
 ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ  
 τῷ δήμῳ. Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐ-  
 πρυτάνευε, Χαρίας ἐγρ-  
 αμμάτενε, Τιμόχσενος  
 15 ἐπεστάτει. Καλλίας ἐ-  
 ἵπε· τὴν μὲν χσυμμαχία-

ν εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 Λεοντίνοις καὶ τὸν ὄ[ρ]-  
 κο[ν] δοῦναι καὶ δέχασα-  
 20 θαι. ὁμός[αι] δὲ Ἀθηνα[ί]-  
 οὺς τάδε· χσύμμαχ[οι] ἐσ[όμ]-  
 εθα - -

See preceding inscription, and notes.

### 53 [41].

#### Expenses of the Expedition to Korkyra : B.C. 433-432.

Στοιχηδόν. Kirchhoff, *G. I. A.* i. 179; op. iv (1), p. 30; Böckh's *Kleine Schriften*, vi. p. 72; Dittenberger, *Syloges*, 26; Michel, *Recueil*, 560. Comp. Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 1877, ii. p. 388 = *Mél. d'Épigr. gr.* p. 26; Müller-Strübing, *Aristoph.*, &c. (1873), pp. 598, 600, note \*\*; Stahl, *Rh. M.* xl. p. 439; Nissen in Von Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschr.* N.F. xxvii (1889), pp. 398, 402; Droysen, *Hermes* (1875), pp. 1 foll.; M. Niedermann, *Rev. de Phil.* 1897, pp. 167 foll.; Kolbe, *Hermes*, 34 (1899), 388.

- [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήλ]ωσαν ἐς Κόρκυραν τάδε. Ἐπὶ Ἀ-  
 φσεύδους ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥνι Κ[ρι-  
 τιάδης Φαείνου] Τειθράσιος πρῶτος ἐγραμμά-  
 [τενε, ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναία-  
 5 [ς . . . . . ἐκ Κερ]αμέων καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, ὅις  
 [Κράτης Ναύ]ωνος Λαμπρεὺς ἐγραμμάτενε,  
 [παρέ]δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κόρκυραν τοῖς  
 [πρώτοις ἐκ]πλέουσι, Λακεδαιμονίωι Λακιά-  
 [δην, Πρωτέαι] Αἰχσωνεῖ, Διοτίμωι Εὐδυνμεί,  
 10 [ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαν]τίδος πρυτανείας πρώτης πρυ-  
 [τανευούσης, τ]ρεῖς καὶ δέκα ἡμέραι ἐσεληλυ-  
 [θύλας ἦσαν . .] ΠΤ  
 [Ἐπὶ Ἀφσεύδους] ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς,  
 [ἥνι Κριτιάδης] Φαείνου Τειθράσιος πρῶτος ἐ-  
 15 [γραμμάτενε, ταμ]ίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀ-  
 [θηναίας, . . . . .]ης Ἐρχιεὺς καὶ χσυνάρχον-  
 [τες, ὅις Εὐθίας Αἶ]σχρωνος Ἀναφλύστιος  
 [ἐγραμμάτενε, παρέ]δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κόρ-  
 [κυραν τοῖς δευτέρ]οις ἐκπλέουσι, Γλαύκωνι  
 20 [ἐκ Κεραμέων, Μεταγ]ένει Κουλεῖ, Δρακοντί-  
 [δην Βατή]θεν, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος πρυτανείας  
 [πρώτης πρυτανευούσης] τῇ τελευ[ταίαι] ἡμέ-  
 [ραι τῆς πρυτανείας (?) - - -]

The restoration of the number of the prytany in line 22 is uncertain; *πρώτης*, *τρίτης*, *ὀγδόης*, and *ἐνάτης* are all possible so far as space goes, but Thukydides' account puts the last two out of court.

This expedition is described by Thuk. i. 45. 51. The arrival of the reinforcements in the nick of time just prevented a disaster. The story is misrepresented by Plutarch (*Pericl.* 29). Perikles would doubtless have sent a larger fleet at first, but he desired to avoid an appearance of aggression. Thukydides names Andokides son of Leogoras (who would be not the orator, but perhaps his grandfather) as if he were Glaukon's only colleague. The marble (for the restorations adopted, see Müller-Strübing, *loc. cit.*) names Glaukon, Metagenes, and Drakontides. Either Thukydides makes a slip, or Andokides was unofficially attached to the expedition, or, again, the name *Ἀνδοκίδης* is a manuscript corruption of *Δρακοντίδης*. If so, since the name Leogoras seems to belong to the family of Andokides, that name also must have been wrongly inserted in the text of Thukydides. The Drakontides who figures afterwards as one of the 'Thirty tyrants' (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. § 2) was *Ἀφιδναῖος*, and cannot be identified with the present general.

## 54 [42].

## Athenian victory before Potidaia: B. C. 432.

The marble is in the British Museum. *Στοιχειδόν. Gr. Inscr. in the Br. Museum*, xxxvii; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* 442; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* no. 21; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr.* 34; Bury, *Hist. of Gr.* p. 393. The first three lines of the poem are past restoration: the λ in l. 7, which Kaibel supposes to have been misread, is quite certain, and the restoration *ἐλ[υθεν]* = *ἐλύθησαν* is due to the kindness of Dr. Otto Benndorf. Originally the marble was surmounted with a relief representing a battle scene. Since Fauvel first copied the inscription, several letters have been lost, which are here given in brackets in lines 2, 3.

Ἔμ Ποτ[εῖδα]ι τοῖδε ἀπέθανον - - *cp. heading of nos. 26 and 46]*

Ἀθάνατ[όμ με θα]νοῦσιν - - -

σημαίνειν (ἀρετ[ήν] - - -

καὶ προγόνους (θενεσ[?] - - -

5 νίκην ἐνπόλεμον μνήμ' ἐλ[αβον σ]φ[έτερον].

Αἰθῆρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σῶ[ματα δὲ χθῶν]  
 τῶνδε· Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔλ[υθεν].  
 ἐχθρῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, ἵ[οι δὲ φυγόντες]  
 τεῖχος πιστοτάτην ἑλπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίου].

---

10 Ἄνδρας μὲμ πόλις ἤδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆ[μος Ἐρεχθέως],  
 πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας ὅι θάνον ἐμ προμάχοις],  
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων φσυχὰς δ' ἀντίρροπα θέντες]  
 ἦ[λλ]άχσαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατ[ρίδ'] εὐκλ[έϊσαν].

---

The restorations are from the earlier editors, and are pretty certain. The poem is in three separate portions, and closely accords with the narrative of Thuk. i. 63: ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο . . . . πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος . . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς Ποτειδαίαισι· ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτειδαιατῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός.

## PART III

### PELOPONNESIAN WAR

B.C. 431-404.

55 [36].

#### The Plague of B. C. 430-429.

On a statue-base found *in situ* during the excavation of the Propylaea: cp. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 188; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 335; Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 389 foll.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii. pp. 277 foll.; Löwy, *Inscr. Griech. Bildhauer*, 53; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 585; Lolling, *Katálogos τοῦ ἐν Ἀθ. Ἐπιγρ. Μουσείου*, i. p. 66, no. 96; Michel, *Recueil*, 1020.

Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγίᾳ.  
Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.

Plutarch shall tell us the current story of this statue (*Pericl.* 13): τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐξειργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ (B. C. 437-433) Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονούντος· τύχη δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβάσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμήνυσσε τὴν θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμούντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανείσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἥ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως ἴασατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμα τῆς Ὑγίᾳς Ἀθηναῖας ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν. But there are grave reasons against accepting this picturesque story, one being that the basis is so placed that it cannot have been set up while the Propylaea were still building. It was perhaps set up after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, in commemoration of the cessation of the plague of B. C. 430-429

(P. Wolters, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xvi (1891), pp. 153 foll.). Pliny, *N. H.* xxii. 44, gives a quite different account, connecting the accident with the building of a temple, evidently the Parthenon, and with another statue, that of the 'Splanchnoptes' by Styppax (cf. xxxiv. 81); but in xxxiv. 80 he mentions statues of Hygieia and Minerva by Pyrrhos (not Hygieia Minerva, see *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xix. p. 167). Perikles, if Plutarch's account is to be trusted, fulfilled his vow in the name of the Athenian people.

## 56.

## Lykia after the Expedition of Melesandros: about

B. C. 430-420.

On the NE. side of the shaft of the monolithic heroön known as the Xanthian Stele at Xanthos in Lykia; the rest of the monument is covered with inscription in the Lykian alphabet. Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia* (1840), pp. 168 foll.; other references are given by Imbert, *Revue des Études Grecques*, vii (1894), pp. 267 foll. The latest discussion of this monument and of the Greek portion of the inscription is by O. Benndorf, in his admirable article in the *Jahreshefte des österr. Archäol. Inst.* iii (1900), pp. 98 foll.

- [Ε]ξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην [Α]σίας δίχα πόν[τ]ος ἐνεμ[ε]ν,  
 [ο]ὔδεις πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηκ[ε]ν  
 [δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει,  
 [νικ]έων καὶ πολέμου μνῆμα τόδε ἀθάν(α)τον.  
 5 [ . . . ]ς ὅδε Ἀρπάγου υἱὸς ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα  
 [χε]ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τότε' ἐν ἡλικίαι.  
 [πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις σὺν Ἀθηναίαι πτολιπόρῳι  
 [π]έρσας συγγενέσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας.  
 ὦν χάριν ἀθάνατοί οἱ ἀπεμ(ή)σαντο δικαίαν.  
 10 ἐπτά δὲ ὀπλίτας κτείνεν ἐν ἡμέραι Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας,  
 Ζηῆ δὲ π(λ)εῖστα τροπαῖα β(ρ)οτῶν ξ(σ)[τ]ησεν ἀπάν[τ]ων,  
 καλλίστοις δ' ἔργοις Κα[ρ]ίκα γένος ἐστεφάνωσεν.

Line 1. Taken verbatim from the 'Simonidean' epigram εἰς τοὺς μετὰ Κίμωνος στρατευσαμένους ἐν Κύπρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε τὰς ῥ' ναῦς τῶν Φοινίκων ἔλαβεν, i. e. at the battle of the Eurymedon (*Anthol. Pal.* vii. 296, cp. *Diod.* xi. 62. 3).



Line 5. The name of the Harpagid is unfortunately mutilated, but there is little doubt that it corresponded to the Lykian name Käräi, which may have been represented in Greek by some such name as Karmis or Karnis. This dynast is known from his coins (*Brit. Mus. Catal., Lycia, &c.*, pp. xxxv and 22) to have been ruler of Xanthos and possibly also of Antiphellos. The most important of his coin-types is a head of Athena (cp. l. 7), and the tiara on the conventional satrap's head which serves as his portrait is sometimes decorated with a laurel-wreath. We know that the Harpagid of our inscription was a βασιλεύς.

Line 6. πάλην, the traditional reading, is perhaps to be preferred to παλήν for βαλήν or βαλλήν = βασιλεύς, cf. Aischylos, *Pers.* 660; it is true that χερσί is otiose, but the style of the whole poem cannot be called subtle.

Line 8. βασιλέας with synizesis for βασιλείας.

Line 10. For the feat compare no. 38. The Arkadians must have been mercenaries. Probably the poet originally wrote κτάν' rather than κτείνεν.

Line 12. Καρίκας is a name also known from coins (*Brit. Mus. Catal., Lycia, &c.*, pp. xxxvi and 23) as having belonged to a dynast (Käriga) of Xanthos and Antiphellos; but as this dynast is later than Käräi, he cannot be identified with the ancestor mentioned in the poem.

All the evidence points to the dating of this monument, or rather of the events which made its hero's fame, shortly after the revolt of Samos. The Lykians appear as tributaries of Athens in the quota-list of B. C. 446-445, but are absent in the practically complete list of B. C. 441-440. In B. C. 430-429 came the disastrous expedition of Melesandros into Lykia (Thuk. ii. 69; the name of this general can be deciphered in the Lykian text of the monument, together with other names such as Artaxerxes, Tissaphernes, Ionians, Spartans, Athenians). These events point to the successful reaction of the Lykian rulers against the Athenian influence which had set in with Kimon's victory at the Eurymedon. Benndorf notes acutely that the irony of this reaction is expressed by the borrowing of the initial verse from the very epigram which celebrated Kimon's victory.



15 ν . . . . . ἐ]γ Μακεδονίας σ[.  
 . . . . . ἐπιμ]ελ[η]θῆναι, ὅπως  
 [κομισθῶσιν ὥς τάχισ]τα Ἀθήνας καὶ π-  
 [αρασκευασθῶσι, ὅπως] ἀν κομίζεται ἡ  
 [στρατιὰ ἡ ἐς Λέσβου φυ]λακὴν τὴν ἀρίστ-  
 20 [ην. εἰ δέ τις μὴ ποιήσῃ] κατὰ ταῦτα, ὀφέλλ-  
 [ειν χιλίας δραχμὰς αὐτῷ]ν ἱερὰς τῇ Ἀθ-  
 [ηναίαι. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐλθ]όντι καὶ κομ[ί]-  
 σαντι . . . . . ] α ὁ δ[ῆμος] - -

The circumstances indicated in this inscription conform to what we know of the latter half of the year of the archonship of Epameinon, whose name is of the right length for the gap in line 3. Some of the restorations however, especially those of ll. 17 foll., must be regarded as very uncertain. Supposing them to be justified, we may note that the ships here mentioned are not part of a naval expedition, but transports for a land force. The decree therefore does not refer to the expedition of Kleippides (Thuk. iii. 3) but to reinforcements which it was intended to send him. These reinforcements, owing to the threatening of Attika by the enemy, did not start until the end of September (Thuk. iii. 18). By this time, apparently, the treasury was getting empty, the money from the last payment of tribute having been exhausted, so that the expenses of the new expedition had to be met by a loan from the deme-treasuries. For the trieropoioi, a commission of ten elected by the Council, see Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. 46. 1.

It was not usual at Athens to record on stone such measures as we find here, unless circumstances lent them some permanent interest (cp. no. 49). What were the circumstances, in the present instance? The answer is given by Wilhelm's discovery, the publication of which in his work on Attic inscriptions he has kindly allowed us so far to anticipate. The lower part of the stone bore a decree (*C. I. A.* i. 82) in honour of some person, presumably for services in connexion with the events to which these measures relate. We reproduce the text of the lower fragment (partly restored), merely noting that the honour may be either citizenship or proxenia, and that there is but little lost between the stones.

Ι Ε Σ  
 Σ Τ Ο Σ Τ Ε Ε Κ Γ  
 Α Β Ε Ν Κ Α Ι Ε Σ Τ  
 Ι Π Ε Π Ε Μ Φ Σ Ε Ν Κ Α  
 Ο Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Ο Π Ε Δ Ο Ν Κ  
 Α Κ Α Ι Κ Ο Π Ε Α Κ Α Ι

..... παρ'] αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἐπα-  
 νέσαι . . . . . ὥς ὄν]τι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ  
 καὶ προθύμῳ ποιεῖν ὅ]τι δύναται ἀγαθ-  
 ὸν καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργέτη]σεν τήν τε πόλιν  
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί]ων ἀναγράφσα-  
 ι κ.τ.λ.

## 59 [45].

## Surrender of Potidaea : B. C. 429.

Statue-base of Pentelie marble found on the Akropolis. *C. I. A.* i. 340 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 28 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 1035 ; Lolling, *Katalogos*, i. p. 68, n. 93.

Ἐποίκων  
 ἐς Ποτειδαίαν.

Thuk. ii. 70 : καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἑαυτῶν ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ποτειδαίαν καὶ κατόκισαν. The dedication was made to Athena by the colonists before leaving home.

## 60 [44].

## Methone and King Perdikkas : B. C. 428-426.

On a large slab of marble, broken at the bottom, and surmounted by a broken relief (Schöne, *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. viii. 50 ; a man seated in a dignified attitude extends his hand to a man standing in humble garb, followed by a hound. The group doubtless represents the Athenian Δῆμος befriending the Methonians, who are pledged to obedient fidelity). Found in the theatre of Dionysos. Στοιχηδὺν from line 3. *C. I. A.* i. 40 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 74 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 33 ; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 15 ; cp. Böckh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 499 ; Kirchhoff, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1861, pp. 555 foll. ; Köhler, *ibid.* 1869, i. p. 138.

Μεθωναίων ἐκ Πιερ[ίας].  
 [Φ]άλιππος Φρυγίχου ἐγραμμάτ[ευε].

*First Decree.* Probably July, B. C. 428.

- § 1. [Ἐδ]οχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἐρεχθῆς ἐπρ[ύτάν-  
 ευε], Σκόπας ἐγραμμάτευε, Τιμωνίδης ἐπεστάτει. [Διοπ-  
 5 εῖ]θης εἶπε δι[α]χειροτονησαι τὸν δῆμον αὐτίκ[α πρὸ-  
 s Μ]εθωναίους εἴτε φόρον δοκεῖ τάττειν τὸν δῆμ[ο]ν αὐτ-  
 ικ[α] μάλα ἢ ἐχ[σ]αρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ὅσον τῇ (θ)εῷ ἀπ-  
 ὀ τ[οῦ] φόρου ἐγγί(ν)ετο, ὃν τοῖς προτέροις Παν[αθηναίο-  
 ις] ἐτετάχατο φέρειν, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ἀτελεῖς εἶνα[ι]. § 2. τῶν δὲ ὀφ-  
 10 εἰλημάτων, ἃ γεγράφεται τῷ δημοσῳ τ[ῷ] τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίω[ω] Μεθωναῖοι ὀφείλונτες, ἐὰν ᾧσι ἐπιτ[ή]δειοι Ἀ-  
 θη[ναίοις] ὥσπερ τε νῦν καὶ ἔτι ἀμείνους, ἐπιτ[ρέ]πειν τ-  
 ε τ[ά]χσιν περὶ τῆς πράξεως Ἀθηναίους· καὶ ἐὰν κοινὸ-  
 ν] φσηφισμὰ τι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ[σι] στή-  
 15 λη[σι] γίνηται, μὴδὲν προσ[η]κέτω Μεθωναίοις, ἐὰμ μ-  
 ἢ χωρὶς γίνηται φσηφισμα περὶ Μεθωναίων. § 3. π[ρ]έσβει-  
 s δ[ὲ] τρεῖς πέμψαι ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγ[ο]ν[ό]τας  
 ὡ[ς] Περδίκκα[ν]. εἰπεῖν δὲ Περδίκκαι, ὅτι δοκεῖ δῖκα-  
 ιον εἶναι ἐὰν Μεθωναίους τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆσθαι, μὴδὲ  
 20 ἐχ[σ]εῖναι ὀρίσασθαι, καὶ ἐὰν εἰσεμπορεύεσθ[αι] καθ-  
 ἀπερ τῶς ἐ[σ] τ[ῇ]ν χώραν, καὶ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μ[ή]τε [ἀ]δ[ικ]εῖσ-  
 θαι, μὴδὲ στρατ[ι]ὰν διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεθ[ω]ναίων [δι]ά-  
 γειν ἀκόντων [Με]θωναίων. § 4. καὶ ἐὰμ μὲν ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν [ῥεσ-  
 ἀτερ]οι, χσν[μ]βι[β]ασάντων ὅι π[ρ]έσβεις· ἐὰν δὲ μή, [πρεσ-  
 25 βει]αν ἐκάτ[ερ]ο[ι] πεμπόντων ἐς Διόνυσια, τέλος [ἔ]χον-  
 τας περὶ ὧ[ν] ἀν διαφ(έ)ρωνται, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν κα[ὶ] τὸν  
 δῆμ[ον]. εἰπ[ε]ῖν δὲ [Π]ερδίκκαι ὅτι, ἐὰν ὅι στρατ[ι]ῶται  
 ὅι ἐμ Πο[σ]ειδ[ι]ῳ ἐπαιῶσι, γνώμας ἀγαθὰς ἐ[χ]σουσι  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀθη[ν]αῖοι. § 5. Ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος [Μεθων-  
 30 αίου]ς τελεῖν ὅσο[ν] τῇ θεῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου ἐγγίνε[το], ὃν  
 τοῖς π[ρ]οτέρο[ις] Παναθηναίοις ἐτετάχατο φ[έ]ρειν, τοῦ  
 δὲ ἄλλου ἀτε[λ]εῖς εἶ[ν]αι.

*Second Decree:* B. C. 426 (passed in the first prytany).

- § 1. Ἐδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τ[ῷ] δήμ-  
 ωι. Ἱπποθω[ν]τις ἐπ[ρυ]τάνευε, Μεγακλείδης [ἐ]γραμμά-  
 35 τευ[ε], Νε[κ]σο[ς]. . . . ἐπ[ε]στάτει. Κλεώνυμος εἶπε· Μ[ε]θωναί-  
 ο[ις] εἰ[ν]αι τε ἐχ[σά]γειν ἐν Βυζαντίου στίτου μέχ[ρι] . . . ἀ-  
 κισχ[ι]λίων μεδίμνων τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου, ὅι [τε] Ἑλλη-  
 σπ[ο]ντοφύλακες μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύόντων ἐχσάγειν μ[ή]τ-

ε ἀλλ]ων ἐώντων καλύειν ἢ εὐθυνέσθων μυρίασι δρ[αχ-  
 40 μαῖς]ιν ἕκαστος. γραφσαμένους δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλησπ[ον-  
 το]φύλακας ἐχσάγει[ν] μέχρι τοῦ τεταγμένου. ἀζήμιος [δὲ  
 ἔσ]τω καὶ ἡ ναὺς ἡ ἐχσάγουσα. § 2. ὅ τι δ' ἂν κοινὸν φσηφ[ισμ-  
 α] περὶ τῶν χουμμάχων] φσηφίζονται Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ β-  
 οη]θείας ἢ ἀ[λ]λο τι προ[σ]τάττο[ν]τες τῇσι πόλεσι ἢ [περ-  
 45 ἰ σφ]ῶν [ῆ] περὶ τῶν πό[λεω]ν, ὅ τι ἂν ὀνομαστὶ περὶ τ[ῆς] π-  
 ὀλε[ως] τῇ[ς] Μεθωναίων φσηφίζονται, τοῦτο προσή[κειν]  
 αὐτοῦ]ς, τ[ὰ] δὲ ἄλλα μή, ἀλλὰ φυλάττοντες τὴν σφετ[έ]ρα-  
 ν αὐτῶν ἐ]ν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντων. § 3. ἃ δὲ ὑπὸ Περδ[ί]κκ-  
 ου ἡδικῆσ[θαί] φασι, βουλεύσασθαι Ἀθ[η]ναίους ὅ τι ἀ[ν]δο-  
 50 κ[ῆ]ι [ἄ]χι]ου εἶναι περὶ Μεθωναίων, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαυ[τῆ]σ-  
 ω]σι ἐ[ς] τὸν δῆμον ὅι προέσβεις [ῆ]οι παρὰ Περδίκκου, [οἷ] τ-  
 ε] μετ[ὰ] Πλ[ε]ιστίου οἷ]χ]όμενοι καὶ ὅι μετὰ Λεωγόρου. § 4. τῇ-  
 σ]ι δὲ [ἄ]λλ]ησι πό[λ]ε[σι] χ]ρηματίσαι, ἐπειδὴν ἐσέλ[θ]ηι ὅη  
 π]ρυ[ταν]εία ἢ δευ[τέ]ρα μετὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ ἐ[ῖ]θ[υς]  
 55 ἔδρας] ἐκκλησίαν [πο]ήσαντες· συ[ν]ε[χ]ῶς δὲ ποεῖν τ[ὰς] ἐκ-  
 κλησία]ς, ἕως ἂν δι[α]πρ]αχθῇ, ἄλλο δὲ προχρημα[τί]σαι  
 τούτῳ]ν μηδέν, ἐὰμ μή τι οἱ στρατη[γ]οὶ δέωντα[ι].

*Third Decree:* B. C. 426 (?) (passed in the second prytany).

[Ἐδοχσ-

εν τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυ[τάνευε, .  
 . . . . . ]ης ἐγραμμάτε[υ]ε, Ἱ[ε]ροκλείδης ἐπεστάτ[ει] . . .  
 60 . . . . . ]εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ - - - (the rest is mutilated).

A *fourth Decree* must have originally come at the end, passed while Φαίνιππος ἐγραμμάτευε (see heading), i. e. B. C. 424-423 (decree in Thuk. iv. 118), when all these four documents were ordered to be inscribed together.

Methone remained faithful to Athens throughout the Peloponnesian War (Thuk. iv. 129; vi. 7): after Aigospotamoi the alliance was suspended for a time, but in B. C. 364 Timotheos once more brought Methone over to the side of Athens (Deinarch. *in Dem.* § 14), until in 353 it was forced to yield to the siege of Philip (Grote, ch. 87). Doubtless it was to the advantage of Methone to secure freedom of movement by land and sea by alliance with the maritime power of Athens; to Athens also Methone was a position of the greatest importance, as commanding the Thermaic Gulf.

The first Decree refers to the new assessment made in the previous year, probably B. C. 429-428 (cp. Köhler, *Urkunden*, p. 138), and proposes for the Methonaians (in § 1) to pay no tribute, but only the  $\frac{1}{8}$ th due as ἀπαρχή (see no. 33). In § 2 their arrears of φόρος are excused, and a special arrangement (τάξις) is to be made about them. The stelai mentioned are the registers of debts owing to the treasury. In § 3 envoys are to be sent to Perdikkas, requesting him to give the Methonaians freedom to pursue their traffic in any direction they please by land or sea, and not to set them limits on the coast (δρίσασθαι), whether N. or S. of Methone, which they might not pass.

§ 4. If he declines this suggestion, Perdikkas and the Methonaians are to send envoys to Athens by next Dionysia (= March 427) with full powers to settle their differences. If the Athenian forces now at Poseidion report favourably of Perdikkas' behaviour in these respects, he will earn the goodwill of Athens.

§ 5. The proposed relief is voted to the Methonaians. Accordingly, in the quota-list for B. C. 427-426 or 426-425 (*C. I. A. i.* 257) the Methonaians are registered among the πόλεις αἱ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ἀπήγαγον.

*Second Decree:* B. C. 426. § 1. The Methonaians are permitted to import corn from Byzantion, and the Athenian ἐπίσκοποι or φύλακες there (see no. 32) are to help them; and the ship they charter is not to be regarded as contraband.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντων, 'let them stand to their post,' 'be in readiness,' cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2. 37, and no. 123, l. 48.

§ 3. Two sets of envoys had been sent to Perdikkas, and were expected back shortly: Leogoras may be the father of Andokides the orator.

§ 4. Envoys from other cities seem to have been present with demands. The Athenians promise immediate attention to the matter: but the βουλή just now was sitting down at the docks (Böckh, *Seurkunden*, pp. 171 and 466) on business connected with the fleet; that ended, the prytanes will call the ἐκκλησία together, and this matter shall be the 'first order of the day.'

## 61.

## Athenian Kleruchy in Lesbos: B. C. 427.

Five fragments of marble (*στοιχηδόν*), brought together in *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 22, no. 96; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 29; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 16. See J. Stahl, *Rh. Mus.* 38, p. 145; H. Swoboda, *Serta Hatteliana*, pp. 28 foll.

The heading (frag. c) is badly mutilated. Fragments *a* and *d* proceed:

- - - αι Ἀθην[αίω]ι κελεύουσ[ι] - - -  
 . . δι[έ]κας διδόν[τα]ς πρὸς Ἀθην[αίων] τοὺς ἐπισκόπου-  
 -ς κατὰ τὰς χυ[μ]βο[ύ]λας ἅλ[η] ἥσα[ν] πρὸς Μυτιληναίου-  
 -ς. καὶ τοῖς κλη[ροῦ]χοις, ὅσα ἐπω[λήθη] ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν  
 10 ἀγ[ρῶν] πρὶν ἀ[πο]δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς [τῇ] γῇ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν [καὶ] τῶν στρατιωτῶν, [ἀποδοῦναι] Μυτιλ-  
 ην[αίων] τοὺς ἔχοντας. καὶ ἀναγράφ[ει]σαι ταῦτα τὸν γ-  
 ραμ[μα]τεῖα τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λιθ[ίνῃ] καὶ καταθ[έ]-  
 -ῖναι ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖς(σ) [Μυτιληναίων(?)] . . ταῦ]-  
 15 τα μὲν ἀναγράφ[ει]σαι καὶ κ[α]λέσαι τὴν πρεσβείαν τ]-  
 ῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐπὶ χ[ρ]ένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς]  
 αὔριον τοῖς δὲ κλη[ροῦ]χοις . . . . .]  
 γῆς ἀνταποδο - - -

Fragments *b* and *e* are too seriously mutilated to repay repetition here.

After the reduction of Lesbos, the Athenians sent a kleruchy to the island. The Lesbians cultivated the land themselves, paying two minae a year as rent for each *kleros* to the owners. It has generally been supposed that the Athenian kleruchs were absentee landlords; but this inscription, regulating suits at law between the kleruchs and their Mytilenaian tenants, disproves the supposition. The Athenians were resident, but, as Swoboda suggests, were probably required to reside in the towns and act as a garrison for the island. The Mytilenaians, if the restoration in line 15 is correct, still retained the power to send an embassy in their own name, in spite of subjection to Athenian governors (line 7); and they asked for the regulation of legal procedure in disputes between themselves and the resident Athenians.



The procedure was accordingly decreed to follow on the lines of the *ἑνυβολαί* into which, as a free and independent state, Mytilene had formerly entered with Athens.

## 62 [46].

### Repayment of moneys borrowed from the Temple-treasures : B. C. 426-423.

On eight fragments found at different times on the Akropolis. Στοιχῆδόν. Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 273; cp. Rangabé, *Antiq. Hell.* 116-117, 373; Böckh, *Kleine Schriften*, vi. pp. 72, 89, and 211; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>1</sup>, 29; Michel, *Recueil*, 561.

This document shows that during the four years B.C. 426-423 the war expenses were so heavy that the ordinary income of the state (from φόρος and the other sources of revenue) was not sufficient to meet them. Recourse was therefore had to the accumulating *χρήματα τῆς Ἀθηναίας* and also *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*. But it had been enacted B.C. 435 (no. 49, § 11) that these treasures should not be voted away for state-purposes without an indemnity-bill (*ἄδεια*); and moreover they were at least in form dedicated to the gods. Accordingly they are here 'borrowed' at a nominal interest. It will be remembered that Perikles (Thuk. ii. 13) speaks of the *ἐπὶ ἀχρήματα* as all being available when necessary. In B.C. 422 the peace of Nikias brought relief to the Athenian exchequer, and about B.C. 420 the debt to the gods was repaid with the interest thereon, as here set forth. The interest is shown by Böckh to be calculated at the rate of  $\frac{1}{360}$  of a *drachma* for every *mina per diem*. The normal rate of interest in Greece was *τόκος ἐπὶ δραχμῇ*, i.e. a *drachma* per *mina* per month, or twelve per cent. *per annum*. The formal interest payable to Athena was a tithe of this, or  $\frac{1}{36}$  per cent., i.e.  $\frac{1}{360}$  of a *drachma* per month, or (reckoning thirty days to the month)  $\frac{1}{360}$  of a *drachma per diem*. This is not the place to do more than refer the reader to the calculations of Rangabé, *l.c.* i. pp. 179 foll., and Böckh in his essay (*l.c.*). Comp. also Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses*, p. 42. We shall ask the reader to take for granted their accuracy, and will merely dwell upon the historical interest of the document.

## Moneys borrowed from the Treasury of Athena :

B. C. 426-423.

*Heading.* [Τάδε τοῦ τόκου ἐλογίσαντ]ο ἰοι λογιστα[ὶ ἐν τοῖς τέτ-]  
ταρσιν ἔτεσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς [Παναθήνα]ια ὀφειλόμενα].

On the λογισταί, or board of auditors, see no. 33, p. 51.

FIRST YEAR : B. C. 426-425.

*First payment.* [Τάδε ἰοι ταμίαι παρέδοσαν, Ἀνδρο]κλης Φλυεὺς  
καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, Ἑλλ[ηνοταμία]ς . . . . .]εἰ καὶ  
χσυνάρχου[ς, στρατ]ηγοῖς Ἱπποκράτει Χολαργεὶ καὶ [χ]υ[νάρχου]σιν,  
ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδο]ς πρυτανείας δευτέ[ρας πρυ]τανευούσης, τέτταρες  
5. ἡμέρ[α]ι ἦσαν ἐσ[ε]ληλυθία[s, ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥ]ι Μεγακλειδης  
πρώτο[ς ἐγραμ]μάτευε, ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἀρχοντος. ♀♀ τόκος τ[ούτοις  
ἐ]γένετο: ΠΠΗΔΔ]ΔΠ† :

The interest repaid together with the capital is for four years, which contained respectively 355, 354, 384, 355=1448 days: deduct from this all the days of this quadriennium which had passed before the loan, together with the day on which the loan was received, and you get the number of days for which interest was calculated. The summer of B.C. 426 was a busy one for Athens. Laches was continuing the operations in Sicily (Thuk. iii. 86. 90); Demosthenes and Prokles (*ibid.* 91. 94) sailed round Peloponnese and attacked Aitolia: Nikias, with a fleet of thirty sail (*ibid.* 91), made descents upon Melos and Boiotia and Lokris, Hipponikos and Eurymedon marching at the same time on Tanagra: also Pythodoros is named (*ibid.* 115) as succeeding Laches in Sicily during the following winter. None of these στρατηγοί is named in our inscription: nor is Hippokrates, whom it does specify, named by Thukydides this year. But Thukydides (iv. 66) tells us that twice every year the Athenians invaded Megaris, and that in B.C. 424 (*ibid.*) Hippokrates son of Ariphron was commanding there. Probably he did the same in 426, and, being near at hand, was the στρατηγός who (in the name of all the ten colleagues) signed the receipt for the Treasures of the goddess. As the Attic year began with Hekatombaion (=July), and the prytany contained thirty-five

or thirty-six days, this payment was made towards the beginning of August, after the fleets for the Peloponnese and for Melos had sailed.

*Second payment.* Δευτέρα δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Κ]εκροπίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευούσης [λ]ο[πῶν ἔτι ἐ]ῤκοσι ἡμερῶν] τῇ πρυτανείῳ [P]. τόκος τ[ούτω :] TTX[P]HHHH[P]ΔΔ

*Third payment.* Τρίτη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Παν[διονίδο]ς πρυτανείας] τετάρτης πρυτανευούσης, [ἐ]σεληλ[υθ]ύλας πέντε ἡμέραι] τῆς πρυτανείας. Α[Α[P]TTT[P]ΔΔ]τττ. τόκος τ[ούτω:] T[X[P]HHΔΓ]τττ

*Fourth payment.* [Τετάρ]τῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πρυτανείας] οὐδὲς || πρυτανευούσης, πέντε ἡμέραι ἐσεληλυθ[ύ]λας τῇ]ς πρυτανείας. ΑΑΑΑ[Τ]TTTXX. τόκος τούτω:] TXXXX[P]H[P]Δτττ]

*Fifth payment.* [Πέμ]πτῃ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαν[τί]δος πρυτανείας οὐδὲς πρυτανευούσης, ἐσεληλ[υθ]ύλας ἑ]ῤς ἡμέραι τῇ]ς πρυτανείας. Η. τόκος τ[ούτων:] TTT[P]HHHHΔΔΔΔ

*Sixth payment.* Ἑκτῇ δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρε[χθίδος] πρυτανείας] δεκάτης πρυτανευούσης, ἐσεληλ[υθ]ύλας ἑ]πτὰ ἡμέρας τῆς πρυτανείας, Α[P]T[TTXX[P]H[P]Δ]ττ. (τόκος) τούτοις] ἐγένετο [XXXX]H[P]ΔΔττ[IC]

*Total of these payments with the interest thereon.* [Κε]φάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνδροκλέους ἀ[ρχ]ῆς καὶ χσυνάρχωντων:] Η[Η[P]ΑΤ[P]H[ΔΔΔΔ. τ]όκου κεφάλαιον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθέντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνδροκλέους] ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυνάρχωντων:] ΑΤ[P]ΔΔΔΔΓττττ

The total is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  obols short: there was doubtless a reason why these were not reckoned in.

#### SECOND YEAR: B. C. 425-424.

*First payment.* Τάδε παρέδωσαν οἱ ταμίαι Φωκ[ιδ]ῆς ἔχς Οἶου καὶ χσυνάρχοντες ἐπὶ Σ[τρα]τοκλέους ἀρχοντος κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ Π[λ]ειστίας | πρῶτος ἐγραμ[μ]άτευσεν, στρατηγοῖς περὶ Π[ε]λοπόννησον Δημοσθένης Ἀλκισθένης Ἀφιδ[να]ῖοι ἐπὶ | τῆς . . . ἡτ[τ]ῆς πρυτανείας τετάρτης [πρυτα]νευούσης, τρίτῃ ἡμ[έ]ραι τῆς πρυτανείας 20 ἐ[σεληλυθ]ύ[as, ἐκ τοῦ Ὀπισθ]οδόμου. ΑΑΑ. τόκος τούτοις ἐγέ- νετό [P]HHHHΔ

The payment was made in October, i. e. after the taking of Pylos: probably Demosthenes still kept cruising in the neigh-

bourhood of the Peloponnese. Observe that he is not himself called στρατηγῷ: cp. Thuk. iv. 2, *ὅντι ἰδιώτῃ*. The words ἐκ τοῦ Ὅπισθ. are to be understood in every payment throughout this inscription.

*Second payment.* Ἐπ[έ]ρα δόσις στρατηγοῖς [Νικίαι Ν]ικηράτου Κυθα[ν]τιδῆι καὶ χσυνάρχου[σιν ἐπὶ] τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρυτανείας ἐνάτης πρυτ[ανευούσης], πέμπτη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέραι τῆς π[ρυταν]είας ἐσελληθυίας. Η' τόκος τούτοις ἐγένε[το ΤΤΧΧΧ | ΠΗΗΗΗ]

There is little doubt about Nikias' name: see fourth payment in the first year of no. 70. The payment was made in the early summer of B. C. 424, apparently towards the cost of the expedition against Kythera (Thuk. iv. 53).

*Total of these payments with the interest thereon.* [Κεφάλ]αιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκιάδου ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυνάρχοντων. Η[ΓΓΓΓ] τόκου | κεφάλαιον τῷ ἀ[γο]ργίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθ[έντι] ἐπὶ τῆς  
25 Φωκ[ιάδ]ου ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυνάρχοντων. Τ[ΤΤΧΧΧΠΗΗ || ΗΔ]

### THIRD YEAR: B. C. 424-423.

*First payment.* [Τάδε παρέδ]οσαν ἔοι ταμίαι Θ[ουκυ]δίδης Ἀχερδούσιος καὶ χσυνάρχοντες ἐπὶ Ἰσά[ρχου] ἀρχο[ντος] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἥνι Ἀχσ[ί]ος (?) [πρῶ]τος ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἔνεοις δ[. . . . . | - - -] Χαροπίδῃ Σκ[αμβ]ωνίδῃ καὶ χσυνάρχουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς . . . | - - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - - πρυταν[ευούσης], ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας . . . . . | - - - τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΧΧΧΧΠΗΠΔΓΙΙΙΙ

Paid to the Hellenotamiai of the year before (ἐνεοις); the payment had been promised, but never made, by the last year's Treasurers.

30 *Second payment.* Δευτέρα δ[όσις ἐπὶ τῇ]ς - - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - - πρυταν[ευούσης], δωδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας. ΓΓΤΤΤ [- - | - -] τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο - - -].

*Third payment.* [Τρίτῃ δ]όσις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος πρυτανείας ἔ[- - ης πρυταν[ευούσης], - - - τῆς πρυτανείας - -]. τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΠΗΔΔΔΠΠΙ

*Fourth payment.* Τε[τάρτῃ δόσις] ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἰδος πρυτανείας - - - πρυτανευούσης, τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας . . . . . | τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο - - -].

*Total of these payments, and the interest thereon.* [Κεφάλαιον]

35 τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Θουκυδίδου [ἀρχῆς καὶ χσν||ναρχόντων . . . . . τόκου κεφάλαιον τῷ] ἀργυρίῳ τῷ ἀναλωθέντι ἐπὶ τῆς Θουκυδίδου ἀρχῆς καὶ |χσυναρχόντων - -].

These payments cannot be distinctly connected with particular events of this eighth year of the war (Thuk. iv. 66 foll.).

#### FOURTH YEAR: B.C. 423-422.

*First payment.* [Τάδε παρ]έδοσαν ὅι ταμίαι Τιμοκλῆς Εἰτεαῖος [καὶ χσυνάρχου]τες ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἥη Δημήτριος Κολλυτεὺς πρῶτος ἐγ[ραμμάτευε, . . .] - - Μυρρ[ι]νουσίῳ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμα[ντίδος] πρυτανείας - - s πρυτανευούσης, - - - ηἱ] τῆς πρυτανείας' [ΠΠΤΤΤΤΧΧΧΧΠΗΗΔΔ· το]κος  
40 τούτοις ἐγ[έ]νετο - - -].

*Second payment.* [Δευτέρ]α δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρυτανείας - - - s] πρυτανευούσης, - - - ηἱ τῆς πρυτανείας' - - -]ΤΤΠΠ· τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΗΠΔΤΤΤ||| - -

*Third payment.* [Τρίτη δόσις] [ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ίδος πρυτανείας - - -]της πρυτανευούσης, τετάρτη τῆς πρυτανείας . . .]σαμ|[ - - - τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο - -] [ΠΠΔΔΔΤΤΤ]

*Fourth payment.* Τετάρτη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντ[ίδος] πρυτανείας [ας ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης, δευτέραι καὶ] εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Η·  
45 τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο ΧΠΗ||[ΗΔΔΔΔ]

*Fifth payment.* [Πέμπτη δόσις ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος] πρυτανείας δεκάτης πρυτανευούσης, [τετάρτ]η τῆς πρυτανείας, . . . τόκος τούτοις ἐγένετο .] ΗΔΔΤΤΤ

*Total of these payments, and interest thereon.* Κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀναλώματος ἐπὶ τῆς Τι[μοκλέους] ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων ΗΗ.].ΑΑΤΤΧΠΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΠC· κεφάλαιον τόκου [τοῖς ἀ]ναλωθείσι χρο[νίσμασι] ἐπὶ τῆς Τιμοκλέους ἀρχῆς καὶ χσυναρχόντων ΤΠΗΗΗΔΤΤΤC

This year, the ninth of the war, was one of severe strain upon Athens, owing to the successes of Brasidas and the defection of the Thracian towns.

*Grand totals for the quadriennium.* Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος χρ[ύμπαντος] ὃ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι ἐτεσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων  
50 ἐς Παναθήναια ΠΠΗΗΑΑΑΑΠΤΤΤΧ· || [ - - - κεφάλαιον τόκου χσύμπαντος Ἀθηναίᾳς ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι ἐτεσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια - - -].

Then follows (1) a statement of a loan from the Treasury of Athena Nike, made in the last year of the quadriennium, amount unknown, the stone being broken; (2) fragmentary accounts of loans made in the same year from the treasures of 'The Other Gods.' We gather that B.C. 423-422 was a year which seriously taxed the Athenian resources.

## 63 [49].

**Messenian and Naupaktian Victories: B.C. 426-425.**

On the base of the Nike of Paionios, one of the chief prizes that rewarded the excavators of Olympia. *Ausgrab. zu Olympia*, part I. pl. 32; Dittenberger-Purgold, *Olympia*, v. p. 377, no. 259; E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 178; J. H. C. Schubart, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 113 (1876), p. 397, and 115 (1877), p. 379; Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxiv (1876), p. 169; Weil, *ibid.* p. 229; J. Schubring, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxv (1877), pp. 26 and 59; H. Rühl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 348, and *Imagines* (1898), p. 57; Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildhauer*, 49; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4637; F. Kopp, *Rh. Mus.* 50, p. 268; H. Pomtow, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 153 (1896), pp. 527, 577; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 31; Michel, *Recueil*, 1086; Frazer on *Pausanias*, v. 26. 1; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Grecque*, i. pp. 455 foll.; E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 341.

Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ

Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶμ πολέμιων.

Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος·

καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ποιδὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα.

Pausanias (v. 26. 1) tells the story of the statue thus:—*Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναύπακτόν ποτε* (B.C. 455, Thuk. i. 103) *παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποιή- ται δὲ “ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολέμιων,” ὅτε Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Οἰνιάδαις, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπολέμησαν.* [Cf. Paus. iv. 25]. *Μεσσήνιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολέμιων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δέλματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰνιάδων γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον.* There was therefore a twofold tradition about its origin. There was also a similar monument dedicated by the Messenians and Naupaktians at Delphoi, which Pausanias does not mention, but of which remains have been found. Pausanias' own conjecture, putting the date back to before the middle of the century, must be unhesitatingly

rejected, on account of the style of the statue, which, it may be added, must have been set up after the completion of the temple (about the 83rd Olympiad). The argument of the Messenians as to the phrasing of the epigram is refuted by the evidence of many other dedicatory inscriptions, and has every appearance of being a popular invention. Nevertheless it is exceedingly probable that the monument actually does refer to the affairs of Pylos. As Pomtow has shown, the reference must be either to Demosthenes' expedition with 200 Messenians and 60 Attic archers (Thuk. iii. 105 and 107) and the victories at Olpai and Idomene, where great spoil was acquired (winter 426-425), or to the help rendered by Messenians to Athens in the affair of Pylos (April to June 425), when they sent a garrison from Naupaktos to Pylos and plundered Lakonia (Thuk. iv. 41; Diod. xii. 63). The old inhabitants of Naupaktos were a sea-faring folk, and it was probably they who supplied the Messenian pirate-ships (Thuk. iv. 9). Just as two dedications were made by the Athenians, in the same year B. C. 425, of a bronze statue of Athena Nike (*C. I. A.* iv (2), 198 c) for the Ambrakiote war—see no. 147—and of a bronze Nike for the success at Sphakteria (Paus. iv. 36. 6), so the Messenians and Naupaktians may have made two dedications, one at Delphoi for the successes at Olpai and Idomene, another at Olympia for their share in the campaign of Pylos. These monuments were probably set up immediately; there was no reason for delaying the commemoration until the peace of Nikias.

The artist's inscription is in the Ionic dialect (if we except the word *ναός*), since he was a native of Mende (not in Pallene, but the less known city) in Thrace above Ainos, where the Ionic dialect was in use. In subscribing his name, he takes the opportunity of recording that he was the successful competitor in designing the ornamentation for the ridge of the temple-roof at Olympia (cp. also Paus. v. 10. 2). Line 4 is poetically phrased and in choriambic rhythm. On this same pedestal, nearly three centuries later, the Messenians recorded their peaceful victory over the Lakedaimonians in the arbitration of the Milesians: no. 200 (First Edition).

## 64 [47].

## Assessment of Tribute payable by the Athenian allies;

τάξις φόρου: B. C. 425.

Put together out of thirty fragments found at various times on the Akropolis. Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, *Urkunden u. Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Artesch. Bundes*, pp. 63 foll.; *C. I. A.* i. 37 and iv. pp. 13, 54, 66, 140; *Hermes*, 1896, p. 146; Hill, *Sources for Gk. Hist.* p. 14, no. 72; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 17; cp. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>2</sup>. pp. 207 foll.; Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* 54 (1899), pp. 544 foll.

(a) *Heading and Title*: Θ[εοί.] Τά[χαι]ς [φ]ό[ρου]. Next followed two decrees of the Senate and People, concerning the assessment of Tribute, both passed in the prytany of the tribe Aigeis and in the archonship of Stratokles. At the end was a list of the Tributary States with the sums payable that year, beginning with the Islands (νησιωτικὸς φόρος) and ending with the Thracian allies (Θράκιος φόρος), between which there came (but in what order is doubtful) the Ionian-Karian and Hellespontine tribute (Ἰωνικὸς φόρος, Ἑλλησπόντιος).

(b) *First decree*. Ἐδοχσεν τῇ[ι βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Αἰγῆις] ἐπρ[υτάνευσεν, . . .] ὡν ἐγρα[μμάτευεν, . . .] ἐπε[στάται. Θοῦδ[ι] π[ο]ς εἶπε[.]

(c) *Eight commissioners to be appointed*. [- - - ἐπειδ]ὰν χειρο[τον] . . . ἐπὶ τὰ]ς πόλεις, δύο [μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκι- κης,] δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Ἰωνίαν, δύο δ[ὲ] ἐπὶ νήσους, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ Ἑλλάσπ[ον-] τος[υ]. ὁὔτ[οι] δὲ . . . κοινὸν [. . .] εὖς πα[ρ] - - -].

(d) The next few lines are hopelessly mutilated: ὁρκωτ[αί] are mentioned, who were to visit the allies and take their oath of adherence to this assessment. Cp. Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 5. 3; and no. 40.

(e) *Penalties denounced against Prytanes who neglect to introduce before the assembly a probouleuma in accordance with this decree*: (cp. no. 40, note on l. 12). [ἐὰν δὲ ὁι πρυτάνεις μὴ ἔχσενέγκω]σι ἐ[ς] τὸν δῆμον κ - - ον | . . . [ἢ μὴ χρηματίσωσι] ἐπὶ σ[φ]ῶν αὐτῶν, ὅφ[ειλε]ν χιλίας δραχμὰς ἱερὰ]ς τῇ[ι Ἀθ]ηνα[ῖαι] ἑκάστον τῶν π[ρ]υτάνεων καὶ τῶ[ι] δημοσίῳ ἑχσῆκοντα εὐθυνέσθω μυρίασι | [δρα]χμῇ[σι] ἑκάστος τῶν πρ[υ]τάνεων. καὶ ἐὰν τις ἄλλως



δι[αχειροτονήσῃ ἢ εἴπηι ἢ μὴ εἶναι τ[ὰς] τάχσ[εις - - -] ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανείας ἢ ἂν - - πρυτανεύῃ, ἀτ[τ]ί[μ]ος ἔσ[τω] καὶ τὰ χ[ρήματα] αὐτοῦ δι[ημόσι]α ἔσ[τω] καὶ τῆς θεοῦ [τὸ ἐπιδέκατο]ν.

(f) *The next few lines can be restored more certainly:* ἐχ[σεν]ε[γκέτω] δὲ τ[αὐτα] ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον [ἡ Αἰγν]ῆς π[ρ]υτ[αν]εί[α] ἐπάναγες, ἐπειδὴν . . . . .]στρα . . . ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν [πρῶτ]ον μετ[ὰ τὰ ἱε]ρά. ἐ[ὰν] δὲ [μὴ δι]απ[ρ]αχθῇ ἐν ταύ[τῃ, χρηματίζ]ειν π[ε]ρ[ὶ] τούτου πρῶ[τ]ον τῇ [ὑσ]τερά[ι]α χ[συν]ε[χ]ῶς [ἔ]ως [ἂν δι]απ[ρ]αχθῇ ἐπὶ τῇ[ς] εἰρημένη[ς] πρυτανείας. ἐὰν δ[ὲ] μ[ὴ] ἐχ[σεν]ε[γ]κ[ω]σι ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον ἢ [μὴ] δι[απράχ]ωσι ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, εὐθὺν ἔσθω μυρίασι δρ[αχμῇ]σιν ἑ[καστ]ῶς τῶμ[ιν] [πρυτάν]εω[ν . .]ρο . . . . . ακαλῶν ἐπιδ[ειχ]σ[ε] . . . .] στρα[ . .]ας.

(g) *Next came provisions for communication with the tributary states by means of δημόσιοι κλητῆρες and κήρυκες* (see *Ar. Birds*, 1422, κλητῆρ ἰησιωτικός). *This portion is hopelessly broken, but it ends, apparently, by prescribing the payment of the expenses of these officers:* τοῖς δὲ κήρυξι τοῖς ἰούσι τ[ὸν] μισθόν? ἀποδ[όντων] οἱ κωλακρέται?].

(h) *Supplementary motion, providing for the hearing of appeals against assessments:* [ὁ δεῖνα εἴπ]ε. τὰ μ[ὲν] ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ τὰς [δὲ τάχ]σεις, ὅσαι [- - - τοὺς πρ]υτάνε[ι]ς ὅλ[ον] ἂν τότε τυγχάνωσι πρυτ[ανεύου]ν[τες], καὶ τ[οὺς] ἐσαγωγέας ἐσάγειν περὶ τούτων? ἐς τ[ὸ] δ[ικαστήριον], ὅταν περὶ τῶν τάχσ[εων] ἢ ὅπως ἂν - -.

(i) *Second decree.* Ἐδοχ[ε]ν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Α[ἰγν]ῆς ἐπρυτάνε[ι]ς, - - ὦν ἐγραμμάτευε, - - δ[ωρος] ἐπεσ[τάτει]. Θούδιπος εἶπε.

(j) *The cities now assessed are to take part in the Great Panathenaia:* (comp. no. 41): ὁπόσ[η]σι πόλ[ε]σι φόρος [ἐτάχθη] ἐπὶ τῆς [βουλῆς, ἡ Πλειστ]ίας πρῶτος [ἐγρ]αμμάτευε, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέους] ὄρχοντος, β[οῦν] καὶ πανοπ[λ]ίαν ἀπάγειν ἐς Παναθηναία τὰ μ[εγάλα] ἀπάσας πεμπούντων [δὲ ἐν] τῇ πομπῇ - -.

For the restoration πανοπλίαν, see no. 41, note on l. 11.

(k) *Heading of the list of cities as newly assessed:* [Κατὰ τὰδε] ἔταχσεν τὸμ[ιν] φόρον τῇ[ς] πόλεσιν ἡ [β]ουλ[ῇ], [ἡ] [Πλ]ειστίας πρῶτος ἐγραμμ[α]τέυε, καὶ ἡ ἡλιαία?, ἐπὶ Στρατοκ[λέους] ὄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν [ἐσ]αγωγέων οἷς Κα[- - ἐγραμμάτευε].

*List of the Tribute as assessed B. C. 425.*

(1) *Tribute from the Islands:—*

Νησιωτικὸς φόρος[s].

30 tal.	△△△	Πάρι[ο]ι
15 tal.	△▯	Νάχσι[ο]ι
15 tal.	△▯	*Ανδρ[ιοι]
15 tal.	△▯	Μήλιοι[ι]
9 tal.	▯TTTT	Σίφνιοι[ι]
15 tal.	△▯	*Ερετρ[ιῆς]
5 tal.	▯	Θηραῖοι[ι]
10 tal.	△	Κεῖοι[ι]
5 tal.	▯	Καρύστιοι[ι]
10 tal.	△	Χαλκιδῆς[ι]
6 tal.	▯T	Κύθνιοι[ι]
10 tal.	△	Τήνι[ο]ι[ι]
2 tal.	TT	Στ[υρ]ῆς
	--	Μ[υ]κόνιοι[ι]
	--	[Σ]ερίφιοι[ι]
	--	*Ιῆται
	--	Διῆς
1 tal.	T	*Αθηνῆται
1 tal.	T	Σύριοι
2000 dr.	XX	Γρυγχῆς
1000 dr.	X	*Ρηναιῆς
2000 dr.	XX	Διακρῆς ἀπ[ὸ]
		Χαλκιδέων
1000 dr.	X	*Αναφαῖοι
10 dr. 3 ob.		Κέρια      ΔIII
2000 dr.	XX	Φολέγανδρος
300 dr.	HHH	Βέλβινα
1000 dr.	X	Κίμωλος
1000 dr.	X	Σικινῆται
100 dr.	H	Ποσειδεῖον
		ἐν Εὐβοίαι
1 tal. 2000 dr.	TXX	Διά[κρ]ιοι
		ἐν Εὐβ[ο]ίαι
4 tal.	TTTT	. εφ --
		. ο --

Böckh supposes the last name to be \*Ἡφαιστιῆς in Lemnos.

(m) *Ionian and Karian Tribute*:—

This column had a peculiar heading, which related to an ἐπιφορά or extraordinary contribution, which is removed by the present assessment. Kirchhoff restores it *exempli gratia* thus:—

[ῥοπόσησι τῶν πό-  
λεων χσ]ῡνεκεχώ-  
ρητο φέ[ρ]ειν μῆ  
ῥάμα χσ]ῡμπ[αντας,  
ἀλλὰ π]αρά μ[έρος  
τοὺς φό]ρους, ἐ[πὶ τῷ  
ἐπιφ]ορὰν [τελείν,  
ἄνευ] ταύτης [χσ]ῡμπ-  
[ας ῥο] φόρος ἐτάχθη.

*List of Ionian and Karian cities: the numerals are mostly lost*:—

Λίνδιοι  
Μιλήσιοι Λέρ[ιοι]  
Τειχιούσσα  
Καμिरῆς  
Κυμαῖοι  
Ῐφέσιοι  
Ῐρυθραῖοι  
Τήμιοι  
Ῐηλύσιοι  
Φασηλῖται  
[Τ]ελεμήσσιο[ι]  
[Κλ]αυνηδῆς  
[Κῶ]ιοι  
[Τηλάν]δριοι  
Κνί[διο]ι  
Κολο[φών]ιοι  
Ῐαιρ[αῖοι]  
Χερρ[ονή]σιοι  
Λεβέ[διοι]  
Φωκα[ιῆς]  
Ῐδυμ[ῆς]  
Τύμν[ιοι]

		Κυλλ[άνδιοι]
		Ἀστυ[παλαιῆς]
		Ἀλι[καρνάσσιοι]
		Πολ[ιχναῖοι]
		Ἐρυ[θραίων]
		Κλα[ζομένιοι]
		Καλ[ύδνιοι]
		Πριηνῆς]
		Πλαδ[αρῆς? = Πλαγαρῆς]
		Πυγε[λῆς]
		Ληρισ[αῖοι]
		Μυήσσ[ιοι]
		Τερμ[ερῆς]
1 tal.	Τ	Κιν[δυνῆς]
		Ἀρ[τεμι . . ]
3 tal.	ΤΤΤ	- - -
		A - - -
		M - - -
1000 dr.	Χ	Καρνα[νδῆς]
500 dr.	Ϟ	Βρυκούντιοι
1000 dr.	Χ	Ταρβανῆς
1000 dr.	Χ	Μύνδιοι
		παρὰ Τέρμερα
6 tal.	ϞΤ	Ἐδριῆς Ὑμησῆς
		Κυρωμῆς
2 tal.	ΤΤ	Τῆλος
2 tal.	ΤΤ	Κελένδερις
4000 dr.	ΧΧΧΧ	Ἰτύρα
3000 dr.	ΧΧΧ	Σύμη
3000 dr.	ΧΧΧ	Πιδασῆς
2000 dr.	ΧΧ	Ὑδαιῆς
100 dr.	Η	Ἐλαιούσιοι
		Ἐρυθραίων
	- -	. ἐρὰ παρὰ
		. . . υμέας
	- -	. . . . s
	- -	[Πύριν]δος
	- -	. . . . . υλιαί
	- -	- - -

- -	..... ατος
- -	..... ι
	( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
- -	[Ἐτεοκαρ]πάθιοι
- -	[..... ῆ]ς
	( <i>Lacuna.</i> )
- -	..... ῆ[ς]
- -	..... οι
- -	..... ῆς
- -	[Οἶναῖ]οι
	[ἐν Ἰκά]ρωι
- -	..... σῆς
- -	..... ιοι
- -	[Μυριν]αῖοι
	[παρὰ Κύ]μην.

In l. 6 after the last lacuna, perhaps [ῥῥδιο]σῆς.

(n) *Tribute from the Hellespontine States.*

(The list is incomplete, and most of the numerals are lost.)

Νεοπολίται  
παρὰ Χερρόνη[σον]  
Λιμναῖοι  
Τυρόδιζα  
Δαρείον παρὰ  
τῇμ Μυσίαν  
.. ρεια παρὰ  
[Βρύ]λλειον  
..... ια  
[Ἀρταλου] τεῖχος  
[ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰ]νδακι

---

Μυσ[οί ? - -]  
[Ζελ]ειᾶ[ται]  
[Παρι]ανο[ί]  
[Δαρδ]ανῆς  
[Χερρ]ονησιῖ[ται]  
[ἀπ' Ἀγ]οράς  
..... υλη



(o)	[Ἀκ]ταῖαι πόλεις (cp. Thuk. iv. 52).
*	[. . Τ]Τ      *Ανταν[δ]ρο[ς]
--	*Ροίτειον
--	Νῆσος Πορδοσελήνη
--	[Ἀμαχ]σιτός
--	[Λάρι]σα
--	[Ἀχιλλ]ειον
--	---
--	--- νον
	(Lacuna of 7 lines.)
--	----- α

(p) Thracian Tribute; (very imperfect).

2 tal.	ΤΤ	---
1 tal., 3000 dr.	ΤΧΧΧ	Ι . . . . . α
1000 dr.	Χ	Ο . . . . . ιον
500 dr.	Π	Κ[ίθας?]
--	--	Π[ο]σιδειο[ν]
--	--	*Ακρόθωιοι
--	--	οἱ ἐν *Αθωι
--	--	Πλεύμη
--	--	Θέστωρος
-- (in rasura)		{ . ἱωρος
		{ Σίνος
		{ [Τριπ]οαί
--	--	---
--	--	--- η
--	--	--- δος
		(Lacuna.)
2000 dr.	ΧΧ	---
3000 + dr.	ΧΧΧ -	---
100 dr.	Η	Κλ[εωναί]
1000 dr.	Χ	*Οθό[ριοι]
500 dr.	Π	*Ισταςο[ς]
500 dr.	Π	Αιολίτα[ι]
500 dr.	Π	Ζέρεια
500 dr.	Π	Φαρβήλιοι
500 dr.	Π	Σέρμη
100 dr.	Η	*Ηράκλειον

10 tal.	Δ (?)	Σίγγιοι
10 tal.	Δ (?)	Μηκυβεργαῖοι
10 tal.	Δ (?)	Γαλαῖοι
1 tal.	Τ	Τράϊλος
1000 dr.	Χ	Βορμίσκος
2 tal.	ΤΤ	Ζώνη παρὰ Σέρρειον
1 tal.	Τ	Δρῦς παρὰ Σέρρειον
3000 dr.	ΧΧΧ	Σάλ[η]
1000 dr.	Χ	Πο[τειδαιᾶται]
		- - -
		( <i>Lacunæ.</i> )
--	--	[Σ]τρεφσαῖο[ι]
--	--	[Πί]ερες [έν]
		[Περ]γάμ[ωι]
		( <i>Lacunæ.</i> )
--	--	Σ - -
--	--	Ο - - -
--	--	Σπ[αρτώλιοι]
--	--	Ἄφ[υταῖοι]
--	--	Πεπ[αρήθιοι]
--	--	Ἀκά[νθιοι]
--	--	Αἰν[ιοι] (or Αἰνεᾶται)
--	--	Κοσσ[αῖοι]
--	--	Πολι - -
		παρὰ Σ-- (or παρ' Ἀσ[σηραῖ])
--	--	[Θ]ύσσι[οι]
--	--	[Δι]ῆς
		[ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθω]
		( <i>Lacunæ.</i> )

The lowest part of the stele has been found by Dr. Wilhelm (*Jahresh. des Oesterr. Inst. i., Beiblatt*, p. 43) in a large block consisting of three pieces, one of them being *C. I. A. i.* 544. This fragment reads . ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗ - - ; and the numeral in the vacant space on the left must have been 500 or 1000. The latter is improbable, and we may therefore take the sum to have been a little more than 960 talents.



This document is the only extant example of its kind, and it is unfortunate that it is not entire. But, quite apart from the fragment identified by Wilhelm, a comparison with the Quota-lists, nos. 33, 43, 48, will show that this assessment largely exceeded the previous payments. The tribute from the Hellespont is nearly tripled; that of the Islands is about doubled. It is well known that Grote refused to believe in the duplication of the tribute, which is asserted by Aischines (*F. L.* p. 337), Andokides (*de Pace*, 9), Pseudo-Andokides (*contr. Alcib.* 11), and less strongly by Plutarch (*Aristides*, 24). Whether or no it should be ascribed to Alkibiades' influence may be questioned; but the fact of a large increase no longer need be doubted, nor that it was the result of that ambitious policy which misled Athens after Perikles' death (B. C. 429). Pedrolì (p. 204) calculates the total to have been about 1000 talents, and not 1200 as stated by Andokides, or 1300 as by Plutarch.

Observe the method of making the new assessments. The process closely resembled the method adopted by the Athenians in the revision of their laws, whether at the annual revision described by Demosthenes (*adv. Timocr.* 706 foll.), or at the extraordinary revision B. C. 403 (see Andok. *de Myst.* 83). In other words, the assessment of tribute was not managed by a *ψήφισμα* of the people, nor by a committee appointed by it, but was effected with the same solemnity as an alteration of the laws. *First*, the *ἐκκλησία* voted that a re-assessment should be made. *Next*, the prytanes were bound, under penalties of fines (*e, f*) to prepare a *προβούλευμα* and bring the matter before the *ἐκκλησία* by a certain time. *Thirdly*, the *ἐκκλησία* had to appoint two commissioners (*τάκται*, *c*) for each tribute-district. The tributaries having prepared statements of their liability to tribute, the duty of the *τάκται* was probably to examine into and if necessary revise these statements. On the basis of the schedules thus prepared, the Council imposed the tribute. (In a few cases, states seem to have been exempted from the usual course; see p. 81.) During the deliberations of the Council on this matter, the several tributaries were entitled to represent their own interests (cp. no. 40, ll. 26, 27). Possibly the rubric *πόλεις ἄς*

οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραφσαν φόρον φέρειν refers to something of this kind; but it is by no means certain (see Busolt, *op. cit.* p. 210, note 1). From the decision of the Council, there was an appeal to the people; such cases of appeal were brought before the *δικαστήριον* by the *εἰσαγωγεῖς* (*h* and *k*; cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 52: κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰσαγωγέας πέντε ἄνδρας, οἱ τὰς ἐμμήνους εἰσάγουσι δίκας, δυοῖν φυλαῖν ἕκαστος). The decision of the people was final. Many points in the procedure just described are very uncertain; for the latest discussion see the article by Bannier cited above.

## 65 [48].

List of the Quota of Tribute paid to Athena in the  
year B. C. 425.

The text is given from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* 259: cp. Köhler, p. 76; Michel, *Recueil*, 562.

This list must be earlier than B. C. 424, when many of the cities here named under the *Θράκιος φόρος* were seduced by Brasidas from alliance with Athens. The sums however show that they are calculated upon a larger scale than that shown in nos. 33, 43, and 48; accordingly they may be the first list drawn up after the assessment of B. C. 425. In the later lists it seems that all the ten Hellenotamiai were named; in no. 43 only their foreman is named.

[Ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς, ἥι - - - - - ἐγγραμμάτευε].

[Ἑλληνοταμίαι ἦσαν - - - - - , - - - - - , - - - - - ,]

[- - - - - , - - - - - , Διο[νύ]σιο[ς] Ἀχαρνεύς, [- - - - - , - - -]

[- - -]ιος, Αἰσχρων Μαραθώνιος, Φιλωτάδης Παλληγνεύς].

(Column I on the marble)

	[Ἰωνικός].		- - - - - ι ἐχς Ῥόδου
	- - - - -	10	- - - - [Πεδιῆς] ἐγ Λίνδου
	- - - - -		- - - - [Καρπά]θιοι
	- - - - -		- - - - - ιοι
5	- - - - - οι		- - - - - ιοι
	- - - - - τ]αι		- - - - -
	- - - - [Θερμαῖο]ι ἐχς Ἰκάρου	15	- - - - [Χαλκεῖ]ᾶται
	- - - - - οι		- - - - [Πελειᾶ]ται ἀπὸ Καρίας

- - - - [Ἐρυθραῖοι  
 - - - - [Βουθει]ῆς Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - [Πτελεδύ]σιοι Ἐρυθραίων  
 20 - - - - [Ἐλαιούσ]ιοι Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - [Πολιχνα]ῖοι Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - [Σιδούσιο]ι Ἐρυθραίων  
 - - - - - - - - ι  
 - - - - [- - - ῆ]ς  
 25 - - - - - - - -  
 - - - - [- - παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]  
 - - [Καρβασσαυδ]ῆς παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]  
 (Lacuna.)

(Column 2 on the marble.)

### Θράκιος.

ΔΔΓ Ἴκιοι  
 5 ΓΗΗΗ Μενδαῖοι  
 ΗΗΗ Μαρωνῖται  
 ΔΓΓΓ Σκιάθιοι  
 ΗΗΗ Ἀφυταῖοι  
 ΧΧΧ Θάσιοι  
 10 ΗΗΗ Πεπαρήθιοι  
 Γ Νεοπολῖται Μενδαίων  
 ΓΗΗΗΗ Σκιωναῖοι  
 Η Θύσσιοι  
 ΗΗ Σαμοθράικες  
 15 ΧΗΗ Τορωναῖοι  
 ΔΓΓΓ Σταγίριται  
 ΗΗΗ Ἀκάνθιοι  
 ΔΓΓΓ Αἰνεῖται  
 Η Διῆς ἐχς Ἀθω  
 20 ΔΔΔΓΓΓ Ὀλοφύχσιοι ἐχς Ἀθω  
 Χ Ἀβδηρίται  
 ΔΓΓΓ Ἀργῖλοι  
 ΔΓΓΓΘ Θραμβαῖοι

ΓΓΓΓ Αἰγάντιοι  
 25 ΔΓΓΓ Σαναῖοι

(Column 3 on the marble)

Ἑλλησπόν[τιος].

ΓΔΔΔΓ Καλχ[ηδόνιοι]  
 5 ΔΓΓΓ Κιαν[οί]  
 ΗΗΗ Προ[κουνή]σιοι  
 ΓΗΗΗΓΓΓ Κν[ζ]ικηνοί  
 ΔΔΔΓΓΓ Ἀρτ[ακηνοί]  
 ΔΓΓΓ Σιγέ[ι]ης  
 10 ΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΓ Τενέ[διοι]  
 ΧΔΔΔΔΓ Λαμφ[σακηνοί]  
 Γ Βρυ[λλειανοί]  
 ΔΓΓΓ Ἐλα[ιούσιοι]  
 ΔΔΓΓΓ [Α]α[μ]πωνεῖης  
 15 ΓΓΓΓΓΓ [Α]β[υ]δηννοί  
 ΧΧΗΓΓΓ Βυ[ζάντιοι]  
 ΓΗΗΗΗ Ση[λυμβριανοί]  
 Χ Πέ[ρ]ινθιοι  
 ΗΗΓΔΓΓΓ Δαν[υ]ιοτεῖχῖται  
 20 ΔΓΓΓ Διδ[υ]μοτεῖχῖται  
 ΓΓΓΓ Δασ[κύλειον]  
 ΔΔΔΓ Παρ[ιανοί]  
 ΓΓΓΓ Παλ[αιπερκώσιοι]  
 ΔΓΓΓ Πέ[ρ]κώτη  
 25 ΓΓΓΓ Ἀ[ζ]εῖης  
 ΔΓΓΓ Πα[ισ]ηνοί  
 Γ Ἀ[ρ]παγίανος  
 Γ[ΓΓΓ] - - - - -

(Lacuna.)

(Column 4 on the marble.)

[Νησιωτικός]

(Entirely lost.)

## 66 [50].

## Inventories of the Treasures in the Parthenon:

B. C. 422-421 to 419-418.

Στοιχηδόν. Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 170-173; Michel, *Recueil*, 811. In four fragments, three of which are at Athens; the first and longest fragment was once said (see Böckh, *C. I. G.* 139) to exist among the Elgin marbles; but it is not so, and the fragment is now lost. Comp. Böckh, *Staatshaush.*<sup>3</sup> ii. pp. 142 foll.; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 296.

I. Ol. 89, 3; B. C. 422-421.

Θεοὶ ἐ - - -

Τάδε παρέδωσαν ἅι τέτταρες ἀρχαί, ἅλ' ἐδίδωσαν τ[ὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων] ἐς Π[αναθήναια· τοῖς τα]μίαισι, τοῖς Πρεσβίαις Σημί[ου Φη] (γα)ιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσεν, [τοὶ δὲ ταμίαι, τοῖς Πρεσ]βίαις Ση[μί]ου Φηγαιεὺς] | ἐγραμμάτευσεν, παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι, τοῖς Νικέαις Εὐ[θυ]κλέους Ἀλιμούσιος | ἐγραμμάτ[ευσεν, Εὐφ]ήμωι || Κολλυτεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι,

ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι·

(1) στέφανος χρυσούς, σταθμὸν τοῦ[του] ΠΔ

(2) φιάλα[ι] χρυσαῖ Π, στ[α]θμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΠΔΔΔΠ

(3) χρυσίου ἄσημον, σταθμὸν τούτου (Η)[ - -

(4) καρχήσιον χρ[υ]σ[οῦ]ν τὸμ πυθ[μένα ὑπάρρ] (γυ)ρον ἔχον, ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐν Ἐλαι(ε)ῖ, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΔΔΔΠΠΠ

(5) ἥλω(δ)[ύ]ο ὑπαργύρω καταχρ[ύ]σω, σταθμὸν τούτου Η... ΠΠΠΠ

(6) πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατὰ χρυσον, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΔΠΠ

(7) φιάλα[ι] ἀρ[γυ]ραῖ ΗΔΔΔΠΠΠ, κέρας ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων ΤΤΧΧΧΗΗΠΠΠ

Ἀριθμὸν τὰδ]ε·

(8) ἀκινάκαι περ[ί]χρυσοι ΠΠΠ

10 (9) λήϊον περὶ χρυσον, στάχυες ΔΙ

(10) [κ]ανὼ ὑποχρύλω καταχρύσω ΠΠ

(11) θυμιατήριον ὑπόχρυλον κατὰ χρυσον ΠΠ

(12) κόρη ἐπὶ στήλης κατὰ χρυσος ΠΠ

(13) κοίτη ὑπόχρυλος κατὰ χρυσος Π

(14) Γοργόνειον, κάμπη ἐπὶ χρυσα

(15) ἱππ[ο]ς, γρύψ, γρυπὶς προτομή, γρύψ, λέοντος κεφαλὴ, ὄρμος ἀν[θ]έμων, δράκων, ἐπὶ χρυσα ταῦτα

- (16) κυνῇ ἐπίχ] | ρυσος  
 (17) ἀσπίδες ἐπὶ χρυσο[ι] ὁ ὑπόχυσλοι ΔΓ  
 (18) κλίνει Χιουρ] (γεί) s [Γ|||  
 (19) κλίνει] Μιλησιουργεῖς Δ  
 (20) χσιφ[ομάχαιρα] i Γ|||  
 (21) χσίφη Γ  
 (22) θώρακες Δ [Γ|]  
 (23) ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι [ᾤ]|  
 (24) ἀσπίδες[ς ἐπὶ χαλκοι ΔΔ] Δ|  
 (25) θ[ρ]όνοι Δ||  
 (26) δίφρο[ι] ||||  
 15 (27) ὀκλαδ] || | iαι Γ|||  
 (28) λύρα κατάχρυσος[s] |  
 (29) λύραι ἐλεφάντιναι ||||  
 (30) λύραι ||||  
 (31) [τράπεζα ἡ] λ] εφαντωμένη  
 (32) κράνη [χαλκᾶ |||  
 (33) κ] | λινῶν πόδες [ἐπ] ἀργυρο[ι] Δ|||  
 (34) π] ἐλ[τ]η  
 (35) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ||||, κύλ(ι)[κες Δ||| ἀργ]υροῖ, ὁ ἵππος ἀργ]υροῦς,  
 σταθμὸς] ν τούτων ΓΗΗΗΗ  
 (36) ἀσπίδες ἐπιχρύσω ὁ υποχρύλω [Δ|]  
 (37) ἀκινάκης ἐπὶ χρ[υ]σος, ἄσ]ταθμος  
 (38) φιάλα[ι ἀργυραῖ Γ|||, στ] | αθμὸν τούτων ΓΗΗΗΓ| | |  
 (39) ποτ(ῆ)ρια Χαλκιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ ||||, σταθμὸν [τούτων] ΗΔΔ| | | | |  
 (40) συβή] νη ὁ παρὰ Μηθυ] μναίων ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος  
 (41) ἀσπίς ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυ[σ]ῇ |  
 (42) ἐγ Λ] έσβου ὁ Ἰλλυρικ[ὸν χαλκοῦν  
 20 (43) φιάλ[|] α] ἀργυρᾶ ||, καρχησίω ἀργυρῶ [|], σταθμὸν τούτων  
 Γᾤ ΔΔΔ  
 (44) [Λέ]σ[β]οι [κότυλοι] ἀργυροῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ] Ηᾤ ΔΔ  
 (45) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΓ| | | | |  
 (46) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΓ| | | | |  
 (47) ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ν] | κης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου  
 ΔΔΓ| | | | |  
 (48) στέφανος χρυσ[οῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔ| | | | |  
 (49) ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ν] | κης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔ| | | | |  
 (50) τετράδραχμον [χρυσοῦν, σ]ταθμὸν τούτου Γ| | | | |  
 (51) ὁ νυχ[ς τὸ] ν δακτ(ύ)λιον χρυσοῦν [ἐ]χ[ων, ἄ]σταθμο[ς]

II. Ol. 89, 4; B. C. 421-420.

Τάδε ὅ[ι] ταμίαι(ι) [τῶν ἱερῶν χρη](μ)ά(τ)ω(ν) τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Εὐφημ[ος Κολλυτε]ῖς καὶ χσυν[άρχοντες, ὅ]ις Νι[κέ]ας [Ἀλιμούσιος ἐγραμμάτε]υε, π[αρ]έδοσαν το[ῖς] ταμίαισι, [ὅ]ις Ἐπιγένης Λυσ[άνδρου Αἰγυλιεὺς ἐγγρ[αμ]μάτε]υε, Εὐφιλήτῳ Κηφισιεὶ καὶ χσυν[άρχου]σι, παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν, ὅ]ις Π[ρ]εσβίας [Σημίον Φηγαιεὺς ἐγραμμάτε]υε,

ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι.]

(The inventory for this year is lost).

III. Ol. 90, 1; B. C. 420-419.

[Τάδε ὅ]ι ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Εὐφίλητος Κηφ[ισιε]ῖς καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, ὅ]ις | Ἐπιγένης Λυσάνδρου Αἰγυλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμ[ί]αισι, ὅ]ις Λυσίδικος . . . . . | . Χολαργεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, Λύκωνι Πρασιεὶ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, παρ[αδε]χσάμ[ενοι παρὰ τῶν προτέρων ταμ]ιω̃ν, ὅ]ις Νικέας Ἀλιμούσιος ἐγραμμάτευε,

ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι.]

(1) στέφανο[ς χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου]  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$  Δ

5 (2) φ[ι]ιάλαι χρυσαὶ  $\Gamma$ , σταθμὸν τούτων  $\Gamma^{\Delta} \Gamma^{\Delta} \Gamma^{\Delta} \Gamma^{\Delta} \Gamma^{\Delta}$

(3) χρυσίου̃ ἀσημον, στ[αθ]μὸν τ[ού]του Η -

(4) καρχήσιον χρυσοῦν | τ]ῶμ πυθμένα ὑπάρ[γ]υρον ἔχον, ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐν Ἑλαεῖ, σ[ταθ]μ[ὸν] τούτου  
ΗΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ

(5) ἥλω δύο ὑ[π]αργύρω καταχρύσω, στα[θ]μὸν τούτοις Η . . . ΓΓΓΓ

(6) πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατάρχρυσον, σταθμὸν τούτ[ου] ΗΔΓΓ

(7) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΗΔΔΔ[ΓΓΓΓ], κέρας ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων  
ΤΤΧΧΧΗΗΗΓΓΓ

Ἀριθμὸν τάδε·

(8) ἀκινάκα]ι περίχρυσοι  $\Gamma$ !

(9) λήϊον περίχρυσον, στάχυες Δ!

(10) κανὼ ὑποχρύλω καταχρύσω ||

10 (11) θυμιατήριον ὑπόχρυσ[ον] λον κατάχρυσον |

(12) κόρη ἐπὶ στηλῆ[ς] κατάρχρυσος

(13) κοίτη ὑπόχρυσλος κατάρχρυσος |

(14) Γοργόνειον, κάμπ]η ἐπίχρυσα

(15) ἵππος, γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομή, γρ[ύ]ψ, λέοντος κεφαλὴ, ὄρμος ἀνθέμων, δράκων, ἐπίχρυσα | ταῦτα

- (16) κυνῇ ἐπίχρυσος.  
 (17) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι ὕψοχσυλοι ΔΓ  
 (18) κλίνει Χιουργεῖς Γ|||  
 (19) κλίνει Μιλησιουργεῖς | Δ  
 (20) χσιφομάχαιραι Γ|||  
 (21) χσίφη Γ  
 (22) θώρακες ΔΓ|  
 (23) ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι Π|  
 (24) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι ΔΔΔ|  
 (25) θρόνοι Δ||] |  
 (26) δίφροι ||||  
 (27) ὀκλαδῖαι Γ|||  
 (28) λύρα κατάχρυσος |  
 (29) λύραι [ἐλεφάντῳ] |||  
 (30) λύραι ||||  
 (31) τράπεζα ἡλεφαντωμένη] ||  
 15 (32) κράνη χαλκᾶ |||  
 (33) κλινῶν πόδες ἐπάργυροι Δ|||  
 (34) πέλτη  
 (35) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ||||, κύλικες ἀργυροῖ Δ||, ἱππος ἀργυροῦς,  
     σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΗΗ  
 (36) ἀσπίδε ἐπιχρῦσω ὕψοχσύλω ||  
 (37) ἀκινάκης ἐπίχρυσος, ἄσταθμος  
 (38) φιάλα|ε] ἀργυραῖ Γ|||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΗΓΓΓΓ  
 (39) ποτήρια Χαλκιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ ||||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (40) συβήνη παρὰ Μηθυμναίων ἐλεφαντίνῃ κατάχρυσος  
 (41) ἀσπίς ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυσῇ |  
 (42) ἐγ Λέσβου Ἰλλυρι]κὸν χαλκοῦν  
 (43) φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ||, καρχησίω ἀργυρῷ ||, σταθμὸν τούτων  
     ΠΠΔΔΔ  
 20 (44) Λέσβιοι κότυλοι ἀργυροῖ |||, στ]αθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΠΔΔ  
 (45) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου [ΔΓΓΓΓΓ|||  
 (46) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΓ]ΓΓΓΓ  
 (47) Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου [ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (48) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔ]ΓΓΓΓ  
 (49) Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου [ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (50) τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου]ου ΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (51) ὄνυχς τὸν δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἔχων, ἄσταθμος. |

## IV. Ol. 90, 2; B.C. 419-418.

Τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναί[ς], Λύκων Πρασιεὺς καὶ χουνάρχοντες, [τοῖς Λυσίδικος Χολαργεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσ, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαισι, τοῖς Φορ]μίω Κυνδαθηναίευσ ἐγραμμάτευσ, Χαρίνωι Ἀλεχσιμάχου [Π]ήληκι (καὶ χουνάρχουσι *omitted*), παραδεχσάμενοι παρὰ [τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν, τοῖς Ἐπιγένους Αἰγυλιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσ,

ἐν τῷ Παρθε]νῶνι·

- (1) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (2) φιάλοι χρυσαὶ  $\Gamma$ , σταθμὸν τούτων  $\Gamma^{\Delta} \text{HH} \Gamma^{\Delta} \Delta \Delta \text{H} \text{H}$
  - (3) χρ[υσίου] ἄσημον, σταθμὸν τούτου  $\text{H}$  -
  - (4) καρχήσιον χρυσοῦν τὸν πυθμένα ὑπάργυρο]ν ἔχον, ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ ἐν Ἐλαεῖ, σταθμὸν τούτου  $\text{H} \Delta \Delta \Delta \Gamma^{\Delta} \text{H} \text{H}$
  - (5) ἦλω δύο ὑπαργύρω κατ[αχρύσω, σταθμὸν τούτοις  $\text{H} \dots \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$
  - (6) πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατὰ χρυσον, στ]αθμὸν τούτου ( $\text{H}$ )  $\Delta \Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (7) φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ  $\text{H} \Delta \Delta \Delta \Gamma^{\Delta} \text{H}$ , κέρας ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτων  $\text{T T X X X H H H H} \Gamma^{\Delta}$
- Ἀριθμὸν τάδε·
- (8) ἀκινάκαι περίχρυσοι  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (9) λήϊοι περίχρυσον, στάχυνες  $\Delta$
  - (10) καν]ῶ ὑποχρύσῳ καταχ(ρ)ύσω  $\text{H}$
  - (11) θυμιατήριον ὑπόχρυσον κατὰ χρυσον  $\text{H}$
  - (12) κόρη ἐπὶ στήλης κατὰ χρυσος
  - (13) κοίτη ὑπόχρυσος κατὰ χρυσος  $\text{H}$
  - (14) Γοργόνειον, κάμψη ἐπίχρυσος
  - (15) ἑ]ππος, γρύψ, γρυπὸς προτομή, γρύψ, λέοντος κεφαλὴ, ὄρμος ἀρθέμων, δράκων, ἐπίχρυσ[α ταῦτα
  - (16) κυνὴ ἐπίχρυσος
  - (17) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχρυσοι ὑπόχρυσοι  $\Delta \Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (18) κλῖναι Χιουργεῖς  $\Gamma^{\Delta} \text{H}$  |
  - (19) κλῖναι Μελισσιουργεῖς  $\Delta$
  - (20) χσιφομάχαιραι  $\Gamma^{\Delta} \text{H}$
  - (21) χσίφη  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (22) θώρακες  $\Delta \Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (23) ἀσπίδες ἐπίσημοι  $\Gamma^{\Delta}$
  - (24) ἀσπίδες ἐπίχαλκοι  $\Delta \Delta \Delta$
  - (25) θρόνοι  $\Delta$
  - (26) δέφροι  $\text{H}$



- (27) ὀκλαδίαι Γ|||  
 (28) λύρα κατάχουσος Ι  
 (29) λ]ύραι ἐλεφάντιναι |||  
 (30) λύραι |||  
 (31) τράπεζα ἠλεφαντωμένη  
 (32) κράνη χαλκᾶ |||  
 (33) κλινῶν πόδες ἐ[πάργυροι Δ|||  
 (34) πέλτη  
 (35) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ |||, κύλικες ἀργυραῖ Δ|||, ἵππος ἀργυροῦς,  
 10 στα]||θμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΗΗ  
 (36) ἀσπίδε ἐπιχρύσω ὑποχρύλῳ ||  
 (37) ἀκινάκης ἐπίχρυσος ἀσταθμο[s  
 (38) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ|||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗΗΠ††  
 (39) ποτήρια Χαλκιδικὰ ἀργυρᾶ |||, σταθμ[.]ὸν τούτων ΗΔΔ††††  
 (40) συβήνη ἡ παρὰ Μηθυμναίων ἐλεφαντίνῃ κατάχουσος  
 (41) ἀσπίς [ἐγ Λέσβου ἐπίσημος χρυσή Ι  
 (42) ἐγ Λέσβου Ἰλλυρικὸν χαλκοῦν  
 (43) φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ||, καρχησίῳ ἀρ[.]γυρῶ ||, σταθμὸν τούτων  
 ΠΠΔΔΔ  
 (44) Λέσβιοι κότυλοι ἀργυροῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΠ[ΔΔ  
 (45) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΠ†††|||  
 (46) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΠ††]††  
 (47) Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΠ††††  
 (48) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, [σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔ†††  
 (49) Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔ†††  
 (50) τε[.]τράδραχμον χρυσοῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου Π††||C  
 (51) ὄνυχς τὸν δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἔχων, ἀ[σταθμος].

In B.C. 438 the Parthenon was dedicated to serve as the central point of the national festival, and as the bank of the state. The building contained three treasure-houses. At the East you entered the *Pronaos* (πρόνεως), in which was stored a large collection of sacred objects, chiefly of silver. From the Pronaos a massive door opened into the *Hekatompedos* (or *cella*), so called from its length: here were kept a number of chaplets (στέφανοι) and other objects, chiefly golden. Back to back with the Hekatompedos and without any connecting door was the western chamber, entered from the West, the *Parthenon* proper; this name was in use for the

chamber before the statue by Pheidias came to be known by the name of Parthenos. In addition the *Opisthodomos* or back cella of the Old Temple of Athena, ruined by the Persians, had been rebuilt before the Parthenon, and in this the money-treasure of the state was kept, with other more sacred funds (see no. 49). Herodotos (viii. 51) speaks of treasures being kept on the Akropolis by the *ταμίαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. And for some time before the Parthenon was dedicated in B.C. 438 there had been a board of ten *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας* elected yearly by lot (one from each tribe) from among the *pentakosiomedimnoi*. The Panathenaia were celebrated yearly on a small scale; but it was every fourth year (the third of each Olympiad) that the grand festival took place. Accordingly, the accounts of these Treasurers, although audited yearly, were inscribed for a *πεντητηρίς* at a time, ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια. The blocks containing these inventories have been found at various times on the Akropolis, and they present an almost complete series from B.C. 434 down to the fall of Athens in 404 B.C. These accounts refer only to the treasures *in kind* in the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and Parthenon, giving separate inventories of each collection year by year (see Kirchhoff, *C.I.A.i.* 117 foll.). We have given specimens of each kind in nos. 66, 67, and 71, of which the last two are in the British Museum. It is comparatively easy to restore the lacunae in these inventories, since the same objects recur in each. Thukydides reveals his familiarity with the system by which the Athenian treasures were kept, in the words he puts into the mouth of Perikles (ii. 13). In that review of the resources of Athens, after the tribute and the coined money in the Opisthodomos, we hear of the *ἀναθήματα* in the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and Parthenon: *χωρὶς δὲ χρυσοῦ ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίους καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων*. Next he alludes to the treasures of the 'other gods' (see no. 49): *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρῆσθαι αὐτοὺς*. Lastly, he mentions the gold plates which formed part of the chryselephantine statue itself: *καὶ ἦν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένους*

χρυσίοις κ.τ.λ. The statue is not included in the regular lists of the treasurers: Köhler (*Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1879, p. 89) proves that a separate inventory of the statue, at least from 385 B.C., was kept in the temple, and the treasurers contented themselves with certifying every year that the statue and its belongings were all safe *κατὰ τὴν στήλην*. The inventories, after the fall of Athens 404 B.C., reveal the losses which the treasuries had sustained; and it was reserved for the orator Lykurgos to endeavour to rearrange and make the best of the treasures still remaining.

The articles from Lesbos (40-44) are not found in the earlier treasure-lists of B.C. 434-432, and probably made their way into the treasury in consequence of the Lesbian affair of B.C. 428-427.

## 67 [51].

### Inventories of the Treasures in the Hekatompedos:

B. C. 422-421, 421-420.

Στοιχηδόν. Slab in the British Museum: the text from *Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* i. no. 27; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 153-154, iv. pp. 27 foll.; comp. Böckh, *Staatsh.* ii. p. 163 sq.; Michaelis, *Parth.* p. 299; Michel, *Recueil*, 812. The slab contains the inventories for four consecutive years, of which we give only the first two.

[Θ]ε[οί].

I. Ol. 89. 3; B.C. 422-421: [Τάδ]ε παρέδοσ[αν] <sup>1</sup>αι τέτταρες ἀρχαί, [<sup>2</sup>αὶ ἐδ]ίδουσ[αν] τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παν[αθ]ήνα[ια] τοῖς ταμίαις <sup>3</sup>οῖς Πρεσβίας Σημίον Φηγαι[ε]ῦς ἐγραμμάτευε, <sup>4</sup>οὶ δὲ ταμίαι <sup>5</sup>οῖς Πρεσβ[ι]α[ς] Σημίου Φ[η]γα[ι]εῦς ἐγραμμάτευε παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμίαις <sup>6</sup>οῖς Νικέας Εὐθυκλέους Ἀλιμούσιος ἐ[γ]ραμμάτε[υ]ε,  
5 Ε[ὐ]φ[η]μή[ω]ι Κολλ[υ]τεῖ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι,

ἐν τῷ νε[ώ]ῳ τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ.

(1) φιάλαι χρυσαί III, σταθμὸν τοῦ[τ]ων XX]<sup>Π</sup> ΔΔΔΔ[ΤΤΤΤ]

(2) κόρη χρυσή ἐπὶ στήλης, ἄστ[α]θ[μ]ος

(3) ἀπορραντήριον ἀργυροῦν, ἄσταθμον

(4) στέφανος [χρ]υσῶ· II], σ[τ]αθμ[ὸν] τούτοις <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ

(5) στέφανος χρυσοῦς <sup>1</sup>ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει, σταθμὸν τούτου <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ

(6) φιάλαι ἀργυρ[αῖ] | ΓIII], σ[τ]αθμ[ὸν] τούτων <sup>Π</sup>HHH

- (7) καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ  
 (8) καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Διδὸς Πολ[υ]ῶ[ς], σ[τα]θμὸν τούτου ΗΗ  
 (9) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν [τούτου . . . ]  
 10 (10) στεφάνη χρυσῇ, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΠΔΤ[ ]  
 (11) στέφανοι χρυσοῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΔΔΔΓ[ ]  
 Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν, τοῖς Πρε[σβί]α[ς Ση]-  
 μ[ί]ου Φ[ι]ηγα[ι]εὺς ἐγραμμάτευε·  
 (12) στέφανος χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΓΤΤΤ|||  
 (13) χρυσίδε ||, σταθμὸν [τούτου]ν [Η]ΗΠ[ΔΔΔΔΤΤΤ|||  
 (14) χρυσίς, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΔΔΓΤΤ|| ]

Π. OL 89. 4; B. C. 421-420: [Τάδ]ε τοῖ[ ] τα[μ]ῖαι τῶν ἱερῶν  
 χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Εὐφημος Κολλυτεὺς καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς |  
 Ν[ικ]έας Εὐθυκλέους Ἀλιμούσιος ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωκε τοῖς ταμίαι  
 15 τοῖς Ἐπιγέρης Λυσάνδρου || Αἰγίλ[ι]εὺς [ἐγραμμάτευε Εὐφιλήτωι Κη-  
 φισίε καὶ χουνάρχουσι, παραδεχάμενοι παρὰ τῶν προτέ[ρ]ων ταμιῶν,

[ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ Ἐκατομπέδωι]

- (1) φιάλαι χρυσαῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΧΧΠΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ  
 (2) κόρη χ[ρ]υσῇ ἐπὶ στήλ[η]ς, ἄσταθμος  
 (3) ἀπορραντήριον ἀργυροῦν, ἄσταθμον  
 (4) στεφάνω χρυσῷ ||, σταθμὸν τούτων | ΠΔΔΔ  
 (5) στέφανος [χρυσοῦς] ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει, σταθμὸν τούτου ΠΔΔ  
 (6) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ|||, σταθμὸν τούτων Π[ ]Η[ ]ΗΗ  
 (7) καρχήσιον [ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ  
 (8) καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Διδὸς Πολιῶς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΗΗ  
 20 (9) στέ[φ]ανος χρυσοῦς, [στα]θμὸν τούτου . . . ΤΤΤ|||  
 (10) στέ[φ]ανη χρυσῇ, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΠΔΤΤΤ  
 (11) στέφανοι χρυσοῖ |||, | σ[τα]θμὸν τούτων ΗΔΔΔΓ||  
 (12) στέφανος χρυ[σ]σοῦς, σ[τα]θμὸν τούτου ΔΓΤΤΤ|||  
 (13) χρυσίδε δύο, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ[Π]ΔΔΔΔΤΤΤ|||  
 (14) χρυσίς |, σταθμὸν [ταύτης ΗΔΔΔΓΤΤΤ|||

Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν τοῖς Νικ[ί]α[ς Εὐθυκλέους  
 [Ἀλιμούσιος] ἐγραμμάτευε·

- (15) χρ[υ]σ[ίς], σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΓΤΤΤΤ[ ] ]

See notes on no. 66. Ἐπέτεια are additions made during the year.

## 68.

**Alliance between Athens and the Bottiaians : about B. C. 421.**

Six fragments of marble found at various times on the Akropolis. Στοιχηδόν. Lolling, *Δελφίων ἀρχαιολ.* 1890, p. 38; Kirehloff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 142; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 36; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 65, no. 82 (xv).

The first six lines are so badly broken that they admit of no restoration.

*Oath to be taken by both parties.*

.. τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ὁμόσαι ἑκατέρους, Ἀθηναίων μὲν τὴν  
βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, Βοττια-  
ίων δὲ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς] καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀρ-  
10 χοντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς Βοτ[τια]ίων. ὁ δὲ ὄρκ[ος]  
ὅστω Ἀθη[αῖοις] ὅδε· ἀμυνῶ τοῖς] Βοττι[αῖοις] τοῖς]  
χσυντιθεμέ[νοισ] τὰς ὁμολογίας, καὶ τὴν χσ[υμμαχία]-  
ν] πιστῶς καὶ [ἀδόλως φυλάχσω Βοττι]αῖοις προ[θυμούμε]-  
ν]ος κατὰ τὰ χ[συγκείμενα]· καὶ οὐ μνη[σικακίσω] τῶ[ν παρ]-  
15 οἰχομένων ἕνεκα. Βοττιαῖοι δὲ ὁμ[υ]νύοντων κατὰ [τάδε]  
φίλοι ἐσόμε[θα] Ἀθηναίοις καὶ χσ[ύμ]μαχοι πιστῶ[ς] καὶ [ἀ]  
δόλως καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθ[ροὺς] νομιοῦμε[ν], ὅσ-  
περ ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι· καὶ οὐκ ὠφελίσω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς Ἀθην-  
αίων οὔτε χρ[ή]ματα παρέχων οὔτε δυνάμει οὐδεμίαι, ο-  
20 ὔδὲ μνησικ[ακίσω] τῶν παροικομένων] ἕνεκα.

*Provision for the recording of the Treaty.*

τὰς δὲ χσυν-  
υθήκας τὰ[s περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καταθ]εῖναι Ἀθηναίους μὲ-  
ν ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι[ς] ἀναγράφσαντας ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ τὰ ὀν-  
[όμ]α[τα] τῶν [πόλεων ἐγγράφσαντας] τῶν χσυντιθεμένων  
τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν χσυμαχίαν, καὶ ἐπιγράφσαι ἐν τ[ῇ]-  
25 στήλῃ τοῦ ἀ[ρχ]οντος τὸ ὄνομα, ἐφ' οὗ ἐγένοντο αἱ χσ[υν]θ[ε]-  
ήκαι· Βοττιαῖοι δ' ἐν στήλαις λιθί[ν]αις ἀναγράφ[σαντ]-  
ες καταθέντ[ων] διαπέμφσαντες κ[ατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγ]ράφσ]-  
αντες ἐν ταῖς στήλαις τῶν ἀρχόν[των] τὰ ὀνόμα[τα τῶν Β]-  
οττιαίων, ἐφ' [ἧ] ὧν ἐγένοντο αἱ χσυνθ[ε]ήκ[αι].

*Choice of Commissioners of Oaths, &c.*

τοὺς δὲ [ὄρκους]  
30 ὁλίτινες λή[ψονται] παρὰ Βοττιαίων ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆ-

μον πέντε ἄνδρας αὐτίκα μάλα . . . . . τοῦ]-  
 ς δὲ ὁμήρους, [οὓς ἔχουσι - - -

A rider proposed by Eukrates, of which only a few words remain, followed; and finally there was the list of the cities, of which Καλίνδοι[α], Τριπο[αί], and [Κ]εμακαί(?) are preserved.

The Bottiaians had revolted from Athens in B.C. 432-431 (Thuk. i. 57, 58). Just ten years later (Thuk. v. 18) we find an agreement between Athens and Sparta to the effect that Spartolos (an important Bottiaian city) was to be allowed a free choice as to entering the Athenian confederacy. It was probably about the same time that the Athenians came to the agreement with other cities of the district which is recorded in this inscription. The treaty, it may be noted, is made separately with each Bottiaian city.

## 69 [52].

## Alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis:

B.C. 420.

A fragment discovered near the Dionysiac theatre. Στοιχηδόν. C. I. A. iv (1), 46 b, p. 14; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* p. 76, no. 87 (xviii); Roberts-Gardner, ii. 20; cp. Kirchhoff in *Hermes*, xii. 368 (cp. 472); Reinach, *Traité d'Épigr.* p. 331; Herbst, *Hermes*, xxv. 374; Hude, *ibid.* xxvii. 152.

	E	O	N
	Ι	Π	Ρ
	Ο	Σ	Α
	Λ	Λ	Ε
	Λ	Ε	Λ
	Ο	Σ	Η
	Κ	Α	Τ
	Α	Λ	Ε
	Ν	Κ	Α
	Ι	Κ	Α
	Σ	Κ	Α
	Ι	Μ	Α
	Ν	Τ	Ι
	Ν	Ε	Α
	Σ	Κ	Α
	Ι	Ε	Λ
	Μ	Α	Ν
	Τ	Ι	Ν
	Ε	Α	Σ
	Κ	Α	Ι
	Ο	Τ	Τ
	Ο	Ι	Κ
	Α	Τ	Α
	Τ	Ο	Κ
10	Κ	Α	Ι
	Μ	Α	Ν
	Τ	Ι	Ν
	Ε	Υ	Σ
	Α	Τ	Α
	Λ	Υ	Ε
	Ν	Δ	Ε
	Μ	Ε	Ε
	Δ	Ο	Κ
	Ι	Β	Ο
	Ε	Θ	Ε
	Ν	Δ	Ε
	Τ	Ε	Ν
	Α	Ρ	Α
	Λ	Ε	Ι
	Ο	Ν	Ε
	Ι	Α	Ν
	Δ	Υ	Ν
	Ο	Ν	Τ
	Α	Τ	Α
15	Τ	Ε	Ν
	Π	Ο	Λ
	Ι	Ν	Α
	Θ		

	Υ Τ Ο Ν Τ Ο Ν Γ
	Ε Α Ν Μ Ε Η Α Γ
	Υ Τ Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Τ
	Η Α Γ Α Σ Ο Ν Τ
20	Γ Ο Λ . . Η Ε Γ
	Λ Ε Λ Α Σ
	Ε Γ Ο Λ Ι Σ
	Ο Σ Α Ι Λ Ι Ν
	Ν Ε Τ Ε Ι Σ
25	Ι Σ Τ Α Ι Σ
	Ο Σ Α Ι Λ

Part of the original monument copied by Thuk. v. 47. We have therefore given it in uncials only. In line 1 we recognize the end of the heading, probably [*Ἀργείων, Μαντινέων, Ἑλλήνων*]. There are several slight discrepancies from Thukydides: in line 2 he omits *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*; in line 7 he inverts the order, giving *Ἑλλείους καὶ Μαντινέας Ἀθήναζε*, and similarly lines 8, 13. In line 24 the stone perhaps read [*ἡ μεταπεμφσαμένη τῇ στρατιᾷ χρήσθω, ἡγεμονεύουσα*], but the restoration is very uncertain. This fragment does not afford sure ground for estimating the value of our present text of Thukydides. Dr. Wilhelm points out that the importance of the discrepancies, as bearing on this question, has been much exaggerated; that the ancients did not like ourselves lay great stress on verbal accuracy in the transcription of documents; and that even official duplicates do not always exactly tally.

## 70 [53].

### Payments from the Treasures of Athena for public purposes: B. C. 418-415.

*Στοιχηδόν*. The text is mainly from Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 180-183; cp. iv. (1), pp. 32, 70; Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 119-122; Böckh, *Staatsh.* ii. 24 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 37; Michel, *Recueil*, 563; *Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* no. xxiii (one fragment); cp. B. Keil, *Hermes*, 29, pp. 50 foll.

### FIRST YEAR: B. C. 418-417.

*First payment*. [*Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέλωσαν ἐπὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥμῃ . . . . . πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε. ταμίαι*

ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Πυθόδωρος Ἀλαιεὺς καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, τοῖς Φορμίων Ἀριστίωνος Κυδαθηναίε[υς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωσαν Ἑλληνοταμίαις, Ἐργοκλεῖ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεὶ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, καὶ παρέδροις, ἱεροκλεῖ Ἀρχεστράτου Ἀθμονεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσι, ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . ἰδος πρώτης πρυτανευούσης καὶ ἡμέραι  
 5 δευτ[ῆ]ραι καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας . . . ὥστε δοῦναι τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐς Ἀργος τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους. Ἐ[δο]χσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ - - - - ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ [τοὺς] παρέδρους τοῖς ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ, Πυθ[ο]δώρῳ Ἀλαιεὶ καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ πάλιν παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ τοῖς παρέδροις, τούτους δὲ δοῦναι στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ Θύρακης, Εὐθυδήμῳ Εὐδήμῳ | - - - -

Demosthenes was perhaps in charge of the Athenian forces which in the summer of B.C. 418 invested Epidaurus (Thuk. v. 75. 5), from which, later in the year, he was commissioned to withdraw the garrison (*ibid.* 80). There seems to have been some delay in the expedition: the grant was recalled, and then paid out again to Euthydemos and the forces in Thrace. For Euthydemos *cp.* Thuk. v. 19, 24; vii. 16, 69. The general sense of this clause is clear: see next payment. The *παρέδροι* are 'assistants,' 'assessors.'

10 *Second payment.* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἰδος πρυτανείας δευτέρας [πρυτανευούσης Ἑλληνοταμίαις, Ἐργοκλεῖ Ἀριστείδου Βησαιεὶ, | - - Αἰχ]σωνεὶ καὶ συνάρχον[σι], καὶ παρέδροις, ἱεροκλεῖ Ἀρχεστράτου Ἀθμονεὶ καὶ συν[ἀ]ρ[χ]ουσι, τριακοστῇ ἡμέρῃ] τῆς πρυτανείας π[α]ρέδομεν - - χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ στατήρ[α]ς XXXX . . | - - ἀργύριον τούτων - - || . . τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον παρέδομεν τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐς Ἀργος τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους, φσηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου τῇν ἄδειαν - - -

The sum granted was set down first in Kyzikene electrum staters, and then in Attic silver money. The value of the Κυζικηνός in Attic silver at this time is uncertain (see Th. Reinach, *Rev. Numism.* 1893, pp. 153 foll.). The ἄδεια required by no. 49 B was first voted, and then the Treasurers of Athena paid out the money, without promise of interest or of repayment.

15 *Third payment.* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - ἰδος - - ]ης πρυτανευούσης,



ὁ[γδοήμι καὶ - - - τῇ ἡμέρῃ τῆς πρυτανείας στρατηγοῖς παρέδομ[εν  
- - -]δηι, Αὐτοκλεί Ἀναφλ[υστίωι - - -] |

For Autokles see Thuk. iv. 53, 119 (B. C. 424-423).

*Fourth payment.* [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - -] τῆς πρυτανευούσης  
τ[ - - -] τῇ καὶ - - - τῇ ἡμέρῃ τῆς πρυτανείας παρέδομεν τοῦ ἐ[χς |  
[ - - -] πελθόντος Ἑλληνοτ[αμίαις, Ἐργοκλεί Ἀριστείδου Βησ]αιεὶ καὶ  
χσυνάρχουσι, κα[ὶ] παρ[ἐ]δ[ό]μοις Χ[σ]ενοφάνει, Ἱεροκλεί Ἀρχεστράτου  
20 Ἀθμονεῖ - - - οὔτοι δὲ ἔδοσαν] στρατηγοῖς, Νικίαι Νικηράτ[ου]  
Κυδαντ[ίδηι, Λ[υσιστρά]τωι Ἐ[μ]πέδου Ὀῦθεν κ - - -

Nikias led a force against Amphipolis this year: Thuk.  
v. 83.

*Total of payments made this year.* [Κε[φάλα]ι[ον] ἀναλώματος  
τοῦ] ἐπὶ τῆς | [ἀ]ρχῆς [Π] . . . [Π]ΗΗΗ . . . . . || |

## SECOND YEAR: B. C. 417-416.

*First payment.* Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθον ἐπὶ Εὐφύμιον ἀρχον[τος]  
καὶ [ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ]ι . . . . . πρ[ώ]τως ἐγραμμάτενε. ταμίαι  
ἱε[ρῶν χρημάτων τῆς] Ἀ[θηναίας, Ἀναχσικράτης Λαμπρεὺς καὶ χσυνάρ-  
25 χοντες, οἷς] Εὐχσεως Εὐφάνους Προσπάτ[ρι]ος ἐγραμμάτενε, π[α]ρέ-  
δοσαν - - - στρατηγῶι ἐς] τὰ ἐπὶ Θραίκης, [Χ]α[ί]ρ[η]μονι Χ[α]ρι-  
κλέους Παιανε[ῖ, ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - -] πρυτανευούσης, ἡμέρῃ  
δευτέρῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, φσηφισαμέ[νου τοῦ δήμου τὴν  
ἄδειαν - - -].

Thukydides does not tell us anything about this.

*Second payment.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδ[ος] - - - πρυτανευούσης παρ-  
έδομεν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Μῆλον, Τεισί[αι] Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν, |  
Κλεομήδει Λυκομήδους Φλυεῖ, - - - ἡμέρῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, φσηφισα-  
μέν[ου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἄδειαν] Ἄ |

Teisias and Kleomedes commanded the famous expedition  
against Melos, Thuk. v. 84.

30 *Third payment.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχ[ίδος] - - - πρυτανευούσης  
Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρέδομεν, - - -] ωι Α[ν]τ[ι]οχ[ίδηι, Τιμάρχωι Παλ]ληνεὶ καὶ  
στρα[τη]γοῖς ἐς Μῆλον, Τεισί[αι] Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν, Κλεομήδει  
Λυκομήδ[ους] Φλυεῖ, τρίτῃ καὶ δεκ[άτῃ] ἡμέρῃ τῆς πρυτανείας - - -]

*Total payments for this year.* [Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος τοῦ  
ἐ]πὶ τῆς | [ἀ]ρχῆς - - -

## THIRD YEAR: B. C. 416-415.

35 *First payment.* [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθωσαν ἐπὶ Ἀριμνήστου ἄρχοντος  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἥμι . . . . . πρῶτος ἐ]γγραμμάτευε. ταμίαι |  
ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Δεχσίοθεος Φλυάσιος καὶ χσυνάρχοντες,  
οἷς Λυσικλῆς Δ]ρακοντίδου Βατή[θεν | ἐγγραμμάτευε, - - -

40 *Payment \** - - - | - - - || - - - Νικίαι Νι]κηράτου Κυδαντίδῃ  
καὶ παρέδρο[ι - | - - - -

*Payment \* \** [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης  
- - - ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας στρ]ατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ  
Λαμάχω[ι | - - - Ἀντιμάχωι Ἑρμείωι Ἄ . .

*Payment \* \* \** [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης  
- - ἡμέραι τῆς πρυτανείας] στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ,  
45 Λαμ[ω]ι || - - - Ἀντιμάχωι Ἑρμείωι ἌΤΤΤΤΧ . . . Η

*Payment \* \* \* \** [Ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ἰδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης  
- - - τῆς πρυτανείας ἡμέρ]αι, στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ,  
Λαμάχω[ι - - -] Ἀντιμάχωι Ἑρμείωι χ[ρ]υσίου Κυ[ς]ικη[νοῦ] στατήρ[ας |  
- - -] ΤΤΤ||ΙC

These payments were for the Sicilian expedition (Thuk. vi.): unhappily they are much broken. Antimachos does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

*Total payments for this year.* [Κεφάλαιον ἀναλώμα]τος τοῦ ἐπὶ  
50 τῆς || [ἀρχῆς - - -] ΔΓΓΓ||ΙΙΙ.

## FOURTH YEAR: B. C. 415-414.

*First payment.* [Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθωσαν ἐπὶ Χαρίον ἄρχοντος καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἥμι . . .] ἰδης πρῶτος ἐγγραμμάτευε. ταμίαι ἱερῶν  
χρημάτων | [τῆς Ἀθηναίας, Λεωχάρης . . . . . καὶ χσυνάρχοντες,  
οἷς Τελέα]ς Τελενίκου Περγασήθεν ἐγγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν στρ|[α]-  
τηγοῖς Τηλεφόνωι [- - - καὶ] παρέδρωι Φερεκλείδῃ Πειραιεῖ, φση-  
φισαμένου τοῦ δήμ[ου] τὴν ἄδειαν, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος τρι[της]  
πρυτανευούσης - - - ηι ἡμ]έρα[ι] τῆς πρυτανείας ἌΤΧΧΧΠ[Η]ΗΠ[Η]  
55 ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ||ΙC τε καὶ χρυσίου || Κυζικηνοῦ ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΠΣΣΣΣ·  
τιμὴ τούτων γί(γ)νεται - - - ξξξξξξξξ

The portion containing most of the fourth year is in the British Museum. The payment was made partly in Kyzikene

staters and partly in Attic money (the seven sigmas are interlined as an omission): then the total value (τιμή) was expressed in Attic money. Telephonos' command is unknown.

*Loans from the treasure of Athena: First loan.* Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις ἐδανείσα[μεν - -] Ἀριστοκράτει Εὐωνυμῷ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, ΠΤΤΤΤ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔδοσαν ἀθλοθέταις ἐς Παναθήναια, Ἀμέμπτω[ι - - - καὶ χ]ουνάρχουσι, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρεχθίδος δευτέρας πρυτανευού[σῃ]ς, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας.

The year according to which the Council held office did not coincide with the ordinary civil year (commencing on Hekatombaion 1st); in this month (on the 28th) the Panathenaia were celebrated, and we see that they coincided more or less with a late date (20th day) in the second prytany. From this it follows that the Council-year began early (about the 3rd) in the month Skirophorion.

*Second loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος τετάρτης πρυτανευούσης [ἐκτῇ 65 ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις, Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῷ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, στρατιώταις ἔμ Μήλῳ? -] ΔΔ

*Third loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις, Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῷ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, στρατιώταις ἔμ Μήλῳ? - - -

These soldiers may be those 'sent afterwards' to Melos under Philokrates, see Thuk. v. 116.

*Fourth loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις, Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῷ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, ΗΗΗΗ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔδοσαν [τῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατίᾳ.

65 *Fifth loan.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Ἀριστοκρ[ά]τει Εὐωνυμῷ καὶ χουνάρχουσι, ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐς Σικελίαν διακομύσας τὰ χρήματα ΤΤΤΤΧΧ.

These restorations are sufficiently certain: see Thuk. vi. 93. *fin.*, where the wording resembles our inscription, and 94 *fin.* (300 talents).

*Sixth and seventh loans.* Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης, δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνο-

ταμίαι καὶ παρέδρωι Φιλομή[λωι Μ]αραθωνίωι καὶ στρατηγῶι ἐν τῷ  
Θερμαίωι κόλπω[ι - - - τῇ] αὐτῇι ἡμέραι Ἐλληνοταμίαι κ[αὶ παρέ]-  
δρωι Φιλομήλωι Μαραθωνίωι, καὶ στρατηγῶι ἐν Ἡ[ϊόνι? οἱ  
Ε - - - -

The general was perhaps Euetion (Thuk. vii. 9).

*Total of payments and loans made this year.* Κεφάλαιον  
70 ἀνα[λώματος τ]οῦ ἐπὶ τ[ῆς] || ἀρχῆς ΗΗΗΗΠ ΤΤΤ - - - -

## 71 [54].

### Inventories of the treasures in the Pronaos:

B. C. 414-413, 413-412.

Στοιχηδόν. On a broken block in the British Museum. The text from  
*Greek Inscr. in the B. M.* i. no. 26; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. 133-134; cp. Böckh,  
*Staatsk.* ii. pp. 190 foll.; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 295; Michel, *Recueil*, 813.  
See notes on no. 66. The stone contains the inventories for four consecutive  
years, of which we give the first two.

I. Ol. 91. 3; B. C. 414-413: [Τάδ]ε παρέδ[ο]σαν ἅι τέτταρ[ε]ς ἀρ-  
[χαί, ἅ]ι ἐδίδοσαν τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια, | τοῖς  
ταμ[ι]αῖς Τεισαμενίω Παιαν[ιεῖ καὶ χ]συνάρχουσιν, ὅοις Πολυμήδης  
Κηφισίωνος Ἀττηνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, ὅοι δὲ ταμίαι, ὅοις Πολυμήδης  
Κηφισίωνος Ἀττηνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμ[ι]αῖς Πολυ-  
χσενίδει Ἀχαρνεῖ καὶ χ[συνάρχουσι, ὅοις Λευκαῖος Κωμάρχου Ἀφιδ-  
ναῖος ἐγραμμάτευε, ||

5 ἐν τῷ] Πρόνεωι·

- (1) φιάλη χρυσῇ, ἐχς ἧς ἀ[πορραίνονται, ἄσταθμος
- (2) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΤΤΗ]ΗΗΗΔΔΔΤΤ
- (3) κέρατα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙΙ, [σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤ
- (4) ποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ Γ, σταθμὸν τούτων | ΗΠΔΠΤΤΤ]
- (5) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ
- (6) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΠΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗ
- (7) στέφαν[ος χρυ]σοῦς, σταθ(μ)ὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΤΤΤΗΗ
- (8) φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ ΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ
- (9) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων Η]ΗΗΔΔΠΤΤΤΤΤ
- (10) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦ[ν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ
- 10 (11) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΠΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΗ]ΗΗΔΔ
- (12) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΙΙΙΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΗΔΔ
- (13) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ

- (14) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Η</sup>ΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (15) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Ι||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΓΓΓ  
 (16) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, | σταθμὸν τούτου ΓΔΓΓ  
 (17) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, στ[αθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΓΓ  
 (18) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Ι||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΓ<sup>Η</sup>ΔΔΔΔ|ΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (19) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ, σταθμὸν [τούτων] ΗΗΗΗΔΓΓΓ  
 (20) ἀργ[υρίς, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΔΓΓ  
 (21) ποτήριον ἀργυρ[οῦν ΔΔΔΔ]ΓΓΓΓ  
 (22) ἀργυρίς Ι, σταθμὸν τα[ύτης] Γ<sup>Η</sup>Δ  
 (23) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 15 (24) ἀργυρίς Ι, σ||ταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΓΓΓΓ  
 (25) ποτήριον ἀ[ργυρ]οῦν, σταθμὸν τού[του ΔΔΔ  
 (26) ἀργυρίδες Ι|||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΓ<sup>Η</sup>ΔΔΔ|ΔΓΓ  
 (27) κύλι|χς ἀργυρᾶ, ἄσταθμος  
 (28) φιά[λη ἀργ]υρᾶ, σταθμὸν ταύτης Η<sup>Η</sup>ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (29) ἀργυρίδες Ι|||, σταθμὸν | τούτων Γ<sup>Η</sup>ΗΓ<sup>Η</sup>ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 'Επέτεια ἐπ[εγέν]ετο ἐν τῷ Πρόν[εωι]  
 (30) ἀργυρίδες Ι||, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Η</sup>ΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ |

II. OI. 91. 4; B.C. 413-412: [Τάδε 'οι] ταμίαι τῶν 'ιερῶν χρη[μά-  
 των] τῆς Ἀθηναίας Π[ολυχ]σενίδης Ἀχαρνέες καὶ χσυνάρχοντες, | 'οἷς  
 Λευ[καῖος Κωμάρ]χον Ἀφιδνα[ῖος ἐγ]ρα[μ]μάτευε, παρ[έδοσαν τοῖς  
 20 ταμίαις, 'οἷς Αὐτοκλείδης || Σωστράτ]ου Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτ[ευε,  
 Κα]λλαίσχωρι Εὐπ[υρίδ]η καὶ χσυνάρχουσι, παραδεχσάμενοι | παρὰ  
 τῶν] προτέρων ταμιῶν, 'οἷς [Πολυ]μήδης Κηφισίων[ος Ἀτηνε]ὺς  
 ἐγραμμάτευε,

ἐν τῷ Πρόν[εωι] |

- (2) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ΗΔΔΙ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΤΤΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΓΓ  
 (3) κ[έρατα ἀργυρᾶ Ι||, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Η</sup>ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ |  
 (4) ποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ Γ, σταθμὸν τούτων Η<sup>Η</sup>ΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (5) λύχνος ἀργ[υροῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 (6) φιάλαι ἀργυρ[αῖ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτων Γ<sup>Η</sup>Η  
 (7) στέφα[νος] χρυσοῦς, σταθμὸν [τούτου ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ  
 25 (8) φιάλα ἀργυρᾶ Ι||, σταθμὸν το[ύτων] ΗΗ  
 (9) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Ι|||, σταθ[μὸν] τούτων ΗΗΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ  
 (10) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ |  
 (11) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτ[ων] Γ<sup>Η</sup>ΗΗΗΗΔΔ  
 (12) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ Ι|||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΗΔΔ  
 (13) ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΔΔ

- (14) φιδ[λα]ι ἀργυραῖ Γ||, στα[θμὸν] τούτων ΓΗΔΔΔΔΤΤΤ||  
 (15) φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ |||, | σταθμὸν τ[ούτων] ΗΗΓΤ  
 (16) ποτήριον ἀρ[γυ]ροῦν, σταθμὸν τούτου ΓΔΓΤ  
 (17) λύχνος ἀργυροῦς, σταθμὸν τούτου ΔΔΤΤ |  
 (18) φιάλαι ἀρ[γυ]ραῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτων [Η]ΗΓΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ  
 (19) φιάλ[αι] ἀργυραῖ Γ, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗΗΗΔΤΤΤ  
 30 (20) ἀ[ρ]γυρίς |, σ[ταθμὸν] ταύτης ΗΔΤΤ  
 (21) ποτ[ή]ριον ἀργυροῦν, στα[θμὸν] τούτου ΔΔΔΔΓΤΤ  
 (22) ἀργυρίς |, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΓΔ  
 (23) ποτ[ή]ριον ἀργυροῦν, σταθμὸν [τ]ούτου ΔΔΔΓΤΤΤΤ  
 (24) ἀρ[γυ]ρίς |, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΓΤΤΤ  
 (25) ποτήριον ἀρ[γυ]ροῦν, σ[ταθμὸν] τούτου ΔΔΔ  
 (26) ἀργυρί[δες] ||||, σταθμὸν τούτ[ων] ΗΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΤ  
 (27) κύλιχς ἀργυρᾶ, ἄσταθμος  
 (28) φιάλῃ ἀργυρᾶ, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΗΓΔΔΔ[Δ]ΤΤΤΤ  
 (29) ἀργυρίδες ||||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΓΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΤΤΤ  
 (30) ἀργυρίδες | |||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΓΗΗΔΓΤΤΤ  
 'Ἐπέτε[ια] ἐπεγένετο' (31) ἀργυ[ρίς], σταθμὸν ταύτης - - ||

## 72 [55].

## The Hermokopids; their goods confiscated: B. C. 414-413.

Five fragments, relating to the same subject, but not all from one stone : *C. I. A. i.* 274-277 and iv (1), pp. 35 and 177 : comp. Kirchhoff in *Jahn's Jahrbücher*, 1860, pp. 238 foll. ; *Monatsber. d. Berl. Ak.* 1865, p. 545 ; Gütz, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. viii (1876), pp. 535 foll. ; Köhler, *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 396 ; B. Keil, *Hermes*, 29 (1894), pp. 45 foll., 31 (1896), pp. 472 foll. For other fragments see Köhler, *Hermes* (1888), pp. 396 foll. ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 42, 43.

The panic about the mutilation of the Hermai and the rumoured profanation of the mysteries took place B. C. 415 (Thuk. vi. 27 foll.). Many were arrested and imprisoned on suspicion, until Andokides turned 'King's evidence,' and gave what was then considered the true account (Thuk. vi. 60), naming himself and certain others as the perpetrators. He was himself rewarded with free pardon, but the others whom he named were put to death or outlawed, and their goods confiscated. Axiochos, Adeimantos, Euphiletos, Oionias, Panaitios, Polystratos, Kephisodoros were among this number (see Andok. *de Myst.*) : and here is part of the account given

by the Poletai of the sale of their property (δημιόπρατα, Ar. *Wasps*, 659). In all sales of real property, by auction or otherwise, one per cent. was payable to the state by the buyer as an ἐπώνιον (ἐκατοστή; see Gilbert, *Gk. Const. Antiquities*, p. 351; cp. the Roman *centesima rerum venalium*). This percentage is also set down in the account.

*First Fragment* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 41 and add. vol. ii. p. 509; Michel, *Recueil*, 564; the beginning is lost):

Percentage.		Price.
A.	[ΔΓ]ΓΓΓ ΧΓΓΓΓΓ	Δρυνῶν κ[αὶ] π[ρ]ινῶν καὶ οἰκία ἐν - καὶ πίθοι ΓΓΓ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Κυδίμαχο(ς), Δόλων Ἀδεϊμάντου (two slaves of A.).
	[Γ]ΓΓ ΓΔΔΔΓΓ	
Total: Κεφάλαιον [σ]ύμπαν		[ΓΓ]ΓΔΓΓΓ

5 B. [Τ]άδε ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρεχθίδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανευούσης

§ 1. [Γ]αμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμη ἵσταμένον Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου  
Σκαμβωνίδου].

ΓΓ ΓΔΔΔΔΓ Ὀλας ἀνὴρ (a Thracian from a tribe  
near Apollonia).

§ 2. Ἐνάτη φθίνοντος Γαμηλιῶνος Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου  
Σκαμβωνίδου].

ΓΓΓ ΓΔΔΔ Μεσσήνιος ἀνὴρ

10 § 3. Ἑκτὴ φθίνοντος Γαμηλιῶνος [Ἀ]δεϊμάντου τοῦ Λευκολοφίδου  
Σκαμβ.]

Γ ΓΓ Ἐπικαρπία (i. e. crops) τῆς γῆς τῆς  
ἐν Ὀφρυνείῳ ἢ κεκόμιστα?

Total: Κεφάλαιον σύμπαν ΓΓΓΓΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓΓΓ.

ἢ κεκόμιστα], i. e. 'already reaped,' is Dr. Wilhelm's very plausible suggestion.

C. Τῶμ περὶ ἀμφοτέρα (i. e. those accused of both the mutilation of the Hermai and the profanation of the Mysteries)  
Γαμηλιῶνος ἑκτὴ φθίνοντος | Εὐφιλῆτου (τοῦ) Τιμοθέου  
Κυδαθη[ναιῶς]. |

15 ΓΓΓ ΓΓ οἰκία ἐς Σημαχιδῶν  
ΓΓΓ ΓΓ χωρίον ἐγ Γα[ργηττω]

ΙΗΙΙΙ	ΗΗΓ	χωρίον ἐμ Μυ[ρρινούττηι ?]
ΙΙΙ	Δ	χωρίον - - -

Total: Κεφάλαιον σύμπαν ΗΗΗΗ[ΔΔΔ]Η

20 Grand total: Κεφάλαιον ἀμφοτέρων (viz. the last two Totals)  
 ΓΗΗΗΔΙΙΙ.

Second Fragment (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 39; Michel, *Recueil*, 565; the beginning is lost):

A. - - - κα] ἐικο[στῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· - -

§ 1. Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ [Ἀλκιβιάδου Σκαμβωνίδου].  
 [ΙΗ] ΗΠΔΔΔΔΓ Κεφ[αλήν ἀνήρ ?]

§ 2. Ἀδειμάντου [τοῦ Λευκολοφίδου Σκαμβωνίδου].

5 ΙΗ ΗΠΔΔ Σάτ[υρος] (a slave ?)

Total: Κεφάλαιον - - - -

Grand total: Κεφάλαιον συν ἐπωνίοις] - - - -

B. Τάδε ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιο[χίδος - - - s πρυτανευούσης] | ὀγ[δ]όῃ  
 καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρ[υτανείας].

10 § 1. Ἀχσιόχου τοῦ Ἀ[λκιβιάδου Σκαμβωνίδου].  
 ΙΙΙ ΔΔ ἡ ἐ[πικαρπία ? - -  
 ταῖς - -

§ 2. Οἰωνίου τοῦ Οἰωνο[χάρους - - -  
 ἐκ τῇ[s - - - -]  
 ΙΙΙ ΔΔΗ φουσθ - - - -  
 ἀμφ - - - -

§ 3. πέμπτῃ καὶ (τρ)ῇ[ακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας - - -].

Third Fragment (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 40; Michel, *Recueil*, 566; the beginning is lost):

- - - καὶ ἐ[ικοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας].

§ 1. [Ἀδειμάν]του τοῦ Λε[υκ]ολοφίδου Σκα[μβωνίδου].  
 - - - - ἀνήρ [Ἀρ]ιστόμαχος (a slave ?)  
 ἀγρὸς [ἐν] Θάσσει ἐν - -

5 [ΙΗΙΙΙ] ΗΗΠ καὶ οἰκ[ία].  
 ἔπεστιν [πίθ]οι ἐν [τῇ οἰκίαι]  
 ὑγιῆς Δ[Δ· σ]αθροί - -  
 ἐπιθέμα[τα ἔχοντες]

[ΙΗ] ΗΠ[Δ]ΔΔ - - οἶνου ἀμφο[ρῆς - - -

10 Π[Η]ΔΔΔΔ τρ - - - -



§ 2. [Π]αναιτίου	οἶνον ἀμφορῆς - - -]
- - - ΔΔ	καθαροῦ ΗΙΙΙ] ἐ - - -
[ΓΓ]	σμήνη ἐν τῷ [ἀγρῶι]
ΗΠΔ	τῷ ἐν Ἴσ - - -
	βόε ἐρ[γάτα - - -]
	βόε δὲ[ο - - -]
- - - ΔΔ - -	β[όε(?) - - -]

*Fourth Fragment* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 38; Michel, *Recueil*, 567; the beginning is lost) :

§ 1. [Ι]Ι	ΔΓΓΓΓ	ἐπικα[ρ]π[ί]α]
		Θρίαι
[Ι]Ι	ΔΔ	ἐπικαρπία
		Ἐθμονοῖ

5 *Total* : Κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπωνύ[οις]  
XXXXΠΗΗΔΔΓΓΓΗΙΙΙ

§ 2.		Πολυστράτου τοῦ Διο - - -
		Ἀγκυλῆθεν.
[ΓΓ]Γ	ΗΗΓΓ	Πίστος (a slave ?)
10 [ΙΙΙ]	ΔΔΔΔΓΓ	ἐπικαρπία Ἀγ- κυλῆσι

*Total* : Κεφάλαιον σὺν ἐπωνύ[οις]  
ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ (wrong :  
should be 246 dr. 4 ob.)

§ 3.		Κηφισοδώρου μετοίκου ἐμ Πειραι[εί].
15 ΓΓ	ΗΠΔΓ	Θρᾷττα
ΓΓΓ	ΗΔΔΔΓ	Θρᾷττα
[ΓΓ]Γ	ΗΠΔΔ	Θρᾷττα
ΓΓΓΓ	ΗΗΔΔΔΔ	Σύρος
[ΓΓ]ΓΓ	ΗΓ	Κάρ
20 ΓΓ	Η[Π]ΔΓ	Ἰλλυριός
ΓΓΓ	Η[Η]ΔΔ	Θρᾷττα
ΓΓΓ	ΗΔΓ	Θρᾷττα
ΓΓΓ	ΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓ	Σκύθης
ΓΓΓ	ΗΔΔΓ	Ἰλλυριός
25 ΓΓ	ΗΠΓΓΓ	Κόλχος

††	ΗΔΔ††††	Κὰρ παῖς
†	ΔΔ††	Καρικὸν παιδίον
††††	ΗΗΗ†	Σύρος
[†]†	Η[Δ]†	Μελιτ[ηνός or -ή]
30 [†]†	[Η]ΔΔΔ	[Λ]υδή

We add here a fragment relating to the property of Alkibiades :

*Fifth Fragment* (Köhler, *Hermes*, xxiii. p. 396, n. 3; Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* iv (1), p. 178, no. 277 d; Michel, *Recueil*, 568; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 44; the beginning and the percentage column are lost) :

	- - -	
- -	κιβωτ[ός] διθυ[ρος]	
- -	κιβωτὸς τετ[ράθυρος]	
- ΔΔ	κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖ[ς]	Δ†
Δ†† -	τράπεζαι	
5 Δ††† -	χαμεῦνα παράκολλος	
- -	πα[ρ]α[πέ]τασμα [λι]ν[οῦ] [or [ἁπλ]οῦ]	
- -	κλί[ν]η Μιλησιουργ[ῆς]	[ἀ]μφ[ικ]έφα[λος]
- -	ἀλάβαστ[οι]	††
- -	δίφροι	†
10 - ††	[ἀ]νάκλις	
- -	καναῦστρο[ν]	
- -	- - -	

That this last list is part of the inventory of the bedroom-furniture of Alkibiades, we know from Pollux (*Onom.* x. 36), who says that in the sale of his property there figured a χαμεῦνη παράκολλος and a Milesian κλίνη ἀμφικνέφαλλος (*sic*), such as are here described (lines 5 and 7).

### 73.

#### The Athenian Party in Klazomenai and Daphnus :

B. C. 411-408.

Στοιχηδόν. On a slab of Pentelic marble, found in the excavations on the N. side of the Akropolis; it once stood on the Akropolis itself. P. Kavvadias, *Ephem. Arch.* 1898, pp. 1 foll. and 135, Pl. i; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 912; cp. G. C. Richards, *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xviii (1898), p. 329.

Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, . . . . . ἐ-  
πρυτάνευε, Κράτη[ς] ἐγγραμμ[άτευε, Ἐπιγέν]-  
ης ἐπεστάτει, Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰπ[ε] τὰς ξυνθήκας-

s ἄς ξυνέθεντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ [τοῖς οὐκίσας]-  
 5 ι Δαφνοῦντα εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ [τὰ ξυγκείμε]-  
 να, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἐγένον[τ]ο ἀγ[αθοί. καὶ ἀνα]-  
 γράψαι τὸν γραμμ[ατέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ]  
 λιθίνῃ· ἐ[μ πόλει τὰς τε ξυνθήκας καὶ τὸ ψή-  
 φισμα τόδε - - -]

- - - - -

The name of the secretary is written over Ἐπιγένης erased, the lapidary having written the name of the epistates by mistake in the place of the secretary.

The Klazomenians revolted from Athens in B.C. 412 as a consequence of the Sicilian disaster, but were soon reduced, the leaders of the revolt departing to the neighbouring Daphnus (Thuk. viii. 23). Subsequently Astyochos attempted to seize Klazomenai, but was unsuccessful (Thuk. viii. 31). We are told by Thukydides that Astyochos ordered those Klazomenians who were friendly to Athens to leave Klazomenai and settle in Daphnus (ἀνοικίζεσθαι ἐς τὸν Δαφνοῦντα).

From this it would follow that Daphnus was no longer hostile to Athens; in other words, that the leaders of the anti-Athenian party, who had fled to Daphnus, had either been expelled thence, or had come to terms with the Athenians. In any case, the ξυνθήκαι mentioned in this decree were now entered into. On the return of Alkibiades to Athens (where he spent four months in 408 B.C.), this agreement, which had been entered into by the generals on their own responsibility, was confirmed by the people. Alkibiades, who had been sheltered by Klazomenai two years before when he escaped from Tissaphernes, was in a way repaying a debt by proposing the motion. This inscription must be compared with that relating to Selymbria (no. 77), in which Alkibiades plays a similar part. The present decree is inscribed in Ionic characters—a fresh instance of the use of this alphabet in Athens before the archonship of Eukleides. The actual agreement, which was inscribed on the lower part of the stone, is lost.

.....

## 74 [56].

## Assassins of Phrynichos: B. C. 410-409.

Στοιχῆδόν. *C. I. A.* i. 59; cp. Röhl, *Hermes*, xi. 378 foll.; Kirehloff, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Ak.* 1861, pp. 601 foll.; Gilbert, *Beitr. z. inner. Gesch. Athens im Zeitalter des Pelop. Kriegs* (1877), pp. 346 seqq.; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 50; A. Wilhelm, *Arch-epigr. Mith. aus Oest.* xvii (1894), pp. 37 foll.; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 24.

[Ἐπὶ Γλαυκί]ππου ἄ[ρ]χον[τ]ος.

[Λόβων ἐκ] Κηδῶν ἐγραμμάτευε.

§ 1. [Ἐδοχσεν τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἱπποθωντὶ-  
[ς ἐπρυτάνε]υε, Λόβων ἐγραμμάτευε, Φιλιστιδῇ-

5 [ς ἐπεστάτει], Γλαύκιππος ἦρχε. Ἐρασινίδης εἶπ-  
[ε· ἐπαινέσα]ι Θρασύβουλον ὥς ὄντα ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν-  
[υ περὶ τὸν δῆ]μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρόθυμον π-  
[οιεῖν ὅ τι δύναι]ται ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν εὔπεπο-  
[ίηκεν τὴν τε βουλὴν] καὶ τὸν δῆ[μο]ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων-

10 [υ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στε]φάνῳ. ποιῆσα-  
[ι δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ χιλίων δρ]αχμῶν· ὅι [δὲ ἑ-  
Ελληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀργύρι]ον. καὶ [ἀνειπ-  
εῖν Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει(?) τῷ] ἀγῶνι, ὧν ἑν-  
[εκα αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφάνωσ]ε.

§ 2. *Rider moved by Diokles*:—Διοκλῆς εἶπε·

15 [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ·] εἶναι δὲ Θρασύ-  
[βουλον Ἀθηναῖον φυλῆς καὶ δῆμον κ]αὶ φρατρίας, ὧ-  
[υ ἂν βούληται ἀπογραφσάμενο]ν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐ-  
[φσηφισμένα τῷ δήμῳ κύρια εἶ]ναι Θρασυβούλω-  
[ι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῷ π]αρά Ἀθηναίων κ-

20 [αὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ἐάν του δέ]χται π[ερὶ ὧν εὐεργέ-  
[τηκεν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων], καὶ ἀναγράφσα-  
[ι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὰ δεδογμ]ένα. ἑλέσθαι δ-  
[ε - - ἄνδρας - - - - αὐτῆ]κα μάλα, ὅτινε-  
[ς] δι[ε]κασουσιν Θρασυβούλῳ μέρος τὸ γιγνόμεν-

25 ον. τοὺς [δὲ ἄλλους, ὅσοι τότε εὔ]εποίησαν τὸν δῆ-  
μον τὸν Ἀθη[ναίων, . . . . .]ιν καὶ Ἀγόρατο-  
ν καὶ Κώμωνα [καὶ . . . . .] καὶ Σῆμον κα-  
ὶ Φιλίνον κα[ὶ] . . . . .]α, εὐεργέ[τα]ς [ἀν]αγράψ-  
σαι ἐμ πόλε[ι ἐν στήλῃ λ]ιθίνῃ τὸν γραμ[μα]τέ-

- 30 α τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς. [καὶ ἔγκτησι]ν εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὄμπερ  
 Ἀθηναίοις [καὶ γηπέδω]ν καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ οἴκησ-  
 ιν Ἀθήνησι, [καὶ ἐπιμέλ]εσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν βουλήν  
 τὴν αἰεὶ βουλευούσαν καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις, ὅπως ἀ-  
 [ν μ]ὴ ἀδ[ικῶνται. τὴν δὲ σ]τήλην ἀπομισθώσαντων-  
 35 [ν]οὶ πωλεῖται ἐν τῇ βου[λ]ῇ, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνοταμ-  
 [ίας δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον.] ἔαν δὲ δοκῇ αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 [ἄλλον τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ, τῇμ] βουλήν προβουλευσασαν  
 [ἐχσευεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμ]ον.

- § 3. *Rider moved by Eudikos*:—Εὐδικὸς εἶπε· τὰ μὲν  
 [ἄλλα καθάπερ Διοκλῆς· περὶ] δὲ τῶ[ν] δωροδοκησ-  
 40 [άντων ἐπὶ τῷ φσηφίσματι] ὃ ἐψηφί[σθη] Ἀπολλ-  
 [οδώρῳ, τῇμ βουλήν βουλευσ]αι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἔδ-  
 [ραι ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρί]ῳ, καὶ κολάζειν τῶν [δ]ωρο-  
 [δοκησάντων καταψηφισ]ομένην, καὶ εἰς δι(κ)ασ-  
 [τήριον αὐτοὺς εἰσάγει]ν, καθότι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῇ[ι]. τ-  
 45 [ῶν δὲ δικαστῶν τοὺς] παρόντας ἀποφαίνειν ἄ[τα]-  
 α ἐδικάσθη καὶ ἔαν] τίς τι ἄλλο εἰδῇ περὶ τ[ού]-  
 των, ἐχσεῖναι δὲ καὶ] ἰδιώτῃ, ἔαν τις βούληται[ι].

The murder of Phrynichos, in 411 B.C., hastened the downfall of the Four Hundred. Thukydides (viii. 92) does not name the assassin, but calls his confederate, who was caught and tortured, Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος: they both belonged to the foreign soldiery in the pay of the oligarchs. Lysias (xiii. in *Agorat.* 71 ff.) says: Φρυνίχῳ γὰρ . . . κοινῇ Θρασύβουλος τε ὁ Καλυδώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐπεβούλευσαν ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπετυχέτην αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι, ὁ μὲν Θρασύβουλος τύπτει τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ καταβάλλει πατάξας, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος οὐχ ἥψατο, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ κραυγὴ γίνεται καὶ ὄχοντο φεύγοντες. He also cites the decree before us to prove that Agoratos had no share in the deed. Lykurgos (*contra Leocr.* § 112) speaks thus: Φρυνίχου γὰρ ἀποσφαγέντος νύκτωρ παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰσίοις ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Θρασυβούλου κ.τ.λ. Thukydides says it was done ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ, which is not to be understood as a note of time, but of place only, and so does not contradict νύκτωρ (Curtius, *Hist. Gr.*, Eng. trans., iii. p. 453). And Apollodoros may have been a citizen both of Megara and of Argos. This decree was passed in the spring of B.C. 409,

i. e. within the first few months of the restored democracy, in the eighth prytany of Hippothontis: see Böckh, *Staats-haush.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 17.

In § 1, which is the probouleuma, it is proposed to honour Thrasybulos with a crown and public proclamation. The mover, Erasinides, was one of the commanders at Arginusai, and was afterwards put to death (Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 2).

§ 2 is proposed in the ἐκκλησία by Diokles, who is not likely to be the Diokles afterwards one of the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 2). Thrasybulos is to have the citizenship and other honours; and a sort of judicial commission is to be appointed to determine the further reward due to him, in the shape of a portion of the confiscated property of Phrynichos. Other honours are decreed to the rest of the conspirators of whom Agoratos is one.

§ 3. Eudikos proposes that the Council shall investigate the charges of bribery in regard to the reward which was voted to Apollodoros. Those who served on the case and are now at Athens will have to give evidence. We know that Apollodoros, besides being made a citizen (Lysias, xiii. *in Agorat.* 72), received a grant of land (Id. vii. *pro sacr. olea* 4). Lysias has been charged with blundering because he says that the gift of the citizenship to both Apollodoros and Thrasybulos was recorded ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ. Probably the fact is that he was thinking not of the present psephisma, but of an earlier one, in which both Apollodoros and Thrasybulos were honoured. Apollodoros attained this honour by bribery and by representing himself as the assassin. Discovery followed, and hence the present decree and the rider of Eudikos. Lysias (xiii. *in Agorat.* 72) further accuses Agoratos and others of bribing the rhetor so that they might be mentioned in the stelè as euergetai. This rhetor must be Diokles (see Gilbert, *loc. cit.*). Lysias quotes a further psephisma to prove that he is right in his charge against Agoratos; evidently then the corruption was discovered, and another decree passed to cancel the honours conferred in accordance with § 2 on Diokles' friends.

## 75 [57].

**Neopolis in Thrace commended for fidelity to the  
Athenian cause: B. C. 410 and later.**

On seven fragments discovered on the Akropolis: *C. I. A.* iv (1), 51, pp. 16 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 49 and add. vol. ii. p. 809; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 23.

§ 1. *First Decree*, passed in the winter of B.C. 410, in honour of Νεοπολιτῶν τῶμ παρὰ Θάσον, a city to be identified with what the Quota-lists (nos. 33, 48) call Ν. ἐν Θράκη or παρ' Ἀντισάραν. It was on the coast just opposite Thasos, of which it was probably a colony. The important town of Cavalla stands on the ancient site.

[Θ ε]ο[ί.

N]εο[π]ολιτῶ[ν

τ]ῶμ παρὰ Θάσ[ον.

\*Ε]δοχσεν τῇ β[ο]υ[λ]ῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Λεωντὶς ἐπρυτάνευεν,

5 Σιβυρτιάδ[ης ἐγρα]μμάτευεν, Χαιριμένης ἐπεστ[άτει, Γλ]-  
αύκιππος ἤρχ[εν· . . . .]θεὸς εἶπεν· [ἐπ]αινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπ[ολί-  
ταις τοῖς]

παρὰ Θάσον [πρῶτον μ]ὲν δ(υ)τι συνδιεπο[λέμησ]αν τὸν πόλεμον  
μετὰ Ἀθηναίω[ν καὶ ὅτι πολιο-

ρ]κούμενοι [ὑπὸ Θασίων(?) καὶ Πελο[ποννη]σιῶν οὐκ ἠθύμη-  
σαν? - - -

. .]ς τὴν α - - - - - ον ἀνδ[ρες ἀγαθοί] ἐγένοντο

10 ἔς τε τὴν σ[τ]ρατιὰν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ] το[ὺς  
συμμάχ]ο[υς - - -]

The Thasians revolted B.C. 412-411 (Thuk. viii. 64), and were reduced afterwards by Thrasybulos in the winter of 408 (Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 9; cp. i. 1. 32). Neopolis, their colony upon the opposite shore, remained faithful throughout that interval, and suffered in consequence. This decree in their honour dates from B.C. 410 (winter). Line 7 has been chiselled out, and inscribed again by the same hand as the second decree (§ 4): the Neopolitans were not satisfied with the terms employed concerning them, and in § 4 we shall see that some time (perhaps a year or two) later they procured a change in the wording.

§ 2. The next few lines are too fragmentary to be reproduced; they decreed *honorary privileges* to the Neopolitans.

§ 3. *This decree to be set up at Athens and Neopolis.*

33 . . . καὶ τὸ φρήφισμα τόδε ἀναγράφσαντα τὸν γραμματέα]  
τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καταθεῖναι ἐμ πόλει τέλεσι τοῖ]-  
35 s Νεοπολιτῶν· ἐν δὲ Νέαι πόλῃ αὐτοῖ [Νεοπολίται καταθ]-  
έντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Παρθένου ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ. καὶ καλέσαι]  
ἐπὶ χσένια τῇμ πρεσβείαν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον. δοῦναι δὲ (?) ]  
Οἰνοβίῳ Δεκελεεῖ στρατηγῷ ΤΤΤΓΗ[Η - -].

For the form πόλην (l. 35) see Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 137, and cp. nos. 93, l. 35; 103, l. 5.

§ 4. *Second Decree*, perhaps a year or so later than the preceding; but this is uncertain, as the heading is omitted.

Ἀχσίοχος εἶπε· ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς Νεοπολίταις τοῖς ἀπὸ [Θράκης,  
ἵ' ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο]  
40 ἔς τε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τῇμ πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὅτ[ι ἐς  
Θάσον ἐστρατεύσαντο (?) συμπολιῶν]-  
κήσοντας μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ὅτι χουνναυμαχοῦντ[ες] καὶ [συμ-  
πολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν τὸμ πά]-  
ντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἵ' ὅτι εὖ ποιοῦσιν Ἀθηναίους· καὶ ἀντὶ  
τοῦτων [τῶν εὐεργετημάτων] ἅπαντα παρ' Ἀ]-  
θηναίων εἶναι αὐτοῖς καθ' ἅπερ ἐφρήφισται Σ[ερμυλ]ι[εῦ]ς (?),  
ἵ' ὅπως ἂμ μ[ὴ] ἀδικῶνται μηδὲ ὑφ' ἑνὸς μήτ]-  
ε ὑπὸ ἰδιώτου μήτε ὑπὸ κοινοῦ πόλεως· τοὺς τε σ[τρατηγ]οῦς ὅι  
ἀν' ἐκάστοτε ἄρχοντες τυγχάνωσι ἐπιμέ]-  
45 λεσθαι αὐτῶν ἵ' ὅτι ἂν δέωνται, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχ[οντ]ας τοὺς Ἀθηναίων  
ὅι ἀν' ἐκάστοτε ἀρχωσι τῶν συμμάχ]-  
ων (?), τῇμ πόλιν Νεοπολίτας φυλάττοντα[s] καὶ προθύμους ὄντας  
ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν [δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. εἶναι δὲ]  
καὶ νῦν εὐρίσκεσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ τ[οῦ δ]ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὅτι  
ἂν δοκῇ ἀγαθ[ὸν] ἄλλο ὅτου ἂν δέωνται. περὶ]  
δὲ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τῇ Παρθένῳ, ἥ[περ κ]αὶ τέως ἐγίγνετο τῇ [θε]ῷ,  
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ[ι - - - - - αὐ]-  
τούς. ἐς δὲ τὸ φρήφισμα τὸ πρό[τερον] ἐπανορθῶσαι τὸν γραμ-  
ματέα τῆς βουλῆς [καὶ ἐκκολλάσσαντα μεταγρ-  
50 ἀφ]σαι ἀντὶ τῆς ἀποικί[ας] τῆς Θασί[ων] ἵ' ὅτι συνδιεπολέμησαν  
τὸμ πόλεμον μ[ετὰ] Ἀθηναίων. τοῖς δὲ πρέ-



σβεσι - - -]αι καὶ Γ[- - - - καὶ Δι]οφάντῳ ἐπαινέσαι ἃ τε νῦν  
λέγουσιν κ[αὶ - - - - -  
- - -] πρόθυμοί εἰσι ποιῆν ἃ τι δύνανται ἀ[γαθόν - - - -  
- - - καθ' ἑ]άπερ τὸ πρότερον. καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χ[σένια ἐς τὸ  
πρυτανεῖον].

The mover is Axiochos, the uncle of Alkibiades. He had been outlawed B.C. 414 (see p. 142), but he probably returned to Athens along with Alkibiades (p. 156). If we may trust Athenaios, pp. 534, 574, the two men had been together during their exile. I should imagine that this decree was passed soon after the reduction of Thasos, early in B.C. 407, in return for the assistance the Neopolitans had rendered Thrasybulos. They had sent envoys to ask (1) that certain expressions might be improved in the earlier decree. What their grievance in this respect was is not certain. If we read with Dittenberger τῆς ἀποικί[ας τῆς Ἀθηναί]ων, we must suppose that the mover of the original decree confounded Νεάπολις ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων with the city here concerned. Such ignorance of geography is not incredible in a statesman; but it seems more probable that the words τῆς ἀποικί[ας τῆς Θεσσί]ων had been used in order to emphasize by contrast their fidelity to Athens; and this restoration suits the space better than Dittenberger's. The Neopolitans now prayed that they might not be styled 'a colony of Thasos,' presumably, as Dr. Wilhelm suggests, out of hatred of that city, rather than from any notion that the title of colony implied political dependence on the mother-city. (2) They want to be allowed to pay the ἀπαρχή of the φόρος (8<sup>th</sup>, see no. 33) not to Athena, but to their own Virgin Goddess. Perhaps, like the Methonaians in no. 60, they had already been excused the payment of tribute, and only asked to pay the 60th: their request that the 60th may be paid to their own goddess seems another way of asking to be let off altogether. They are told to apply on this point to the ἐκκλησία (ἐν τῷ δήμῳ . . .).

§ 5. *Rider to second Decree, giving the reply of the Athenian demos to the request about the ἀπαρχή.*

[Ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα

καθάπερ τῇ] βουλῇ· τῇ δὲ Παρθένωι ἐχσαιρε [- - -  
 - - - 'ο δ]ῆμος ε[ῖ]χσεται.

The Athenians granted the request of the Neopolitans, which appears to have been grounded upon a vow made to their Παρθένος.

## 76.

## The Delian Amphiktyony : B. C. 410-409.

Στοιχηδόν. Found at Delos. Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii (1884), pp. 283 foll.; V. de Schoeffer, *de Delî ins. rebus, Berliner Studien*, ix (1889), pp. 42 foll.; Michel, *Recueil*, 570; ep. Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* i. 1907.

Θεοί.

Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀθηναίων Ἀμ-  
 φικτύονες οἶδε·  
 Θεο . . . ος Νεο . . ο.,  
 5 Ἀψεφίων Ἀψιθύλλον,  
 Δημόκριτος [Φ]ανίου,  
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Τελεσίου.  
 Ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου Ἀθήνησι ἄρ-  
 χοντος, ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπὶ Ἀπημά-  
 10 ντου ἄρχοντος. Ἀργύριον πα-  
 ρελάβομεν παρ' Ἀμφικτυόν-  
 ων Θεαγγέλου Φη[γαέ]ως καὶ σ-  
 νναρχόντων καὶ νεωκόρων  
 Δηλίων [Σ]κ[ύ]λ[α]κος καὶ συν-  
 15 ρχόντων ἐν [τῶι ἱερ]ῶι καὶ τ-  
 ῶι Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Κεφάλαιον·  
 ΔΔΧΧΓΓΗΗΗΠ - -

The rest is mutilated.

This inscription establishes the title Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες, showing that the Athenians governed all the affairs of the Amphiktyony, although other states were represented. It also fixes the number of Amphiktyons at four. They appear to have held office for a year. The Delian Neokoroi represent the native interest in the management of the temple, which was allowed to survive the purification of 426 B. C. (Thuk. iii. 104) and the deportation of 422 (Thuk. v. 1 and p. 88). The funds were kept in the temples of Apollo (called τὸ ἱερὸν—κατ' ἐξοχήν) and of Artemis.

## 77 [58].

## Selymbria recovered by Alkibiades : B. C. 409.

Not accurately στοιχηδόν. *C. I. A.* iv (1), 61 a, p. 18, cp. p. 126. The fragment *C. I. A.* i. 113 belongs to the same inscription. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 53; *Hermes*, xvi. p. 188; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 87, n. 93 (xxii); A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Inst.* i. p. 158, n. 31 and *Beiblatt*, p. 44, and his addition quoted by Kavvadias, *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1898, p. 135; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 26.

The capture of Selymbria was a brilliant exploit according to Plutarch, *Alcib.* 30. Diod. xiii. 66 says: διὰ προδοσίας εἶλεν. Xenophon (*Hell.* i. 3. 10) simply has: 'Αλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὄρκοις (the convention with Pharnabazos) οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἐλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκεν, κ.τ.λ. The present decree prescribes the conditions upon which Selymbria is restored to the Athenian alliance. The earlier lines are much broken; and the heading is lost.

5 § 1. *Selymbria to choose its own constitution*: [- - καταστήσασθαι δὲ Σηλυμβριανούς τῇμ πολὶ[[τεῖαν αὐτονόμους τρόπῳι ὅτῳι αὖ ἐπίστωντ[[αι - - - -]

The reading of the first two words (due to Wilhelm) is obviously more suitable to the circumstances than εἶναι δὲ καταστήσασθαι, as usually read.

§ 2. *Remission of debts owing by Selymbrians*: [ὅσα δὲ ὤφειλε τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ση[[λυμβριανῶν ἢ ἰδιωτῶν τι]s Σηλυμβριανῶν τῷ | [κοινῷ, ἀφείσθαι].

§ 3. *Sentences of confiscation, disfranchisement, and exile,*  
10 *cancelled*: [καὶ] εἴ του χρήματα ἐδεδήμει[[υτο ἢ εἴ τις τῷ δημοσίῳι] ὤφειλεν, ἢ εἴ τις ἡτίμωτ[[ο, ἐντιμον εἶναι. τοῖς δὲ] φεύγουσι Σηλυμβριανῶν | [κάθοδον εἶναι? - - -]os' πολέμους δὲ καὶ φίλους | [τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν?].

§ 4. *Property of Athens or of the allies left at Selymbria, and lost or spent in the war, not to be required back again*: [ὅς(α) δὲ ἀπώλετο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳι | [χρήματα 'Αθηναίων ἢ τῶν  
15 συμμάχων, ἢ εἴ τι ὀφείλ[[ουτος ἢ παρακ]αταθήκην ἔχοντός του ἔπραχσ[α][ν οἱ ἄρχοντες,] μὴ εἶναι πρᾶχσιν πλὴν γῆς καὶ οἰ[[κίας].

§ 5. *Private contracts not dissolved*: [ἄσα δ' ἄλλα χου-  
 βό(λ)αια προτοῦ ἦν τοῖς ἰ[[διώταις πρ]ὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτα[ς] ἢ ἰδιώτηι πρὸς  
 20 τὸ κ[[οινὸν ἢ τῷ κοι]νῷ πρὸς ἰδιώτη[ν] ἢ ἐάν τι ἄ[λ]λο γίγ[[νηται,  
 δια]λύειμ π[ρ]ὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅτι δ' ἂν ἀμφισβη[[τῶσι, δίκας] εἶναι ἀπὸ  
 χουμβόλων.

§ 6. *These provisions to be inscribed: oaths interchanged*:  
 τὰς δὲ χουυνθήκ[[as ἀναγράφ]σαντας ἐς στήλην θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸ[[ν τοῦ  
 'Απολλωνο]ς (?). ὤ[μο]σαν Ἀθηναίων οἱ στρατηγοὶ | [καὶ οἱ τριήρ-  
 25 ἀρχο]ι καὶ ὅι ὀπλίται καὶ εἴ τι[[ς ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων π]αρήν, καὶ  
 Σηλυμ[βρ]ιανοὶ π[[άντες].

§ 7. *Decree of Alkibiades, confirming the above agreement, and adding certain provisions*:

[Ἀλ]κιβ[ιδ]ῆ[ς] εἶπε· καθ' ἃ χουυνέθεντο Ση-  
 λυμβριαν[ο]ὶ πρ[ὸς] Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν,  
 [καὶ καταθ]εῖναι ἐμ [πόλ]ει ἀναγράφαν(τ)ας τοὺς (σ)-  
 30 τραπε(γ)οὺς τὰς χουυνθήκ[[as μετὰ τοῦ γραμματέως τ-  
 [ῆς] βουλῆς (here something has been erased) ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
 [νῃ τέλει] τοῖς αὐτῶν [κ]αὶ τὸ φησίσιμα τόδε.  
 [Ἀπολλοδω]ρον δὲ τὸν Ἐμπέδου ἐπαινέσαι, καὶ ἀφεῖ-  
 [ναι αὐτὸν τῇ]ς ὀμνηρε(ί)ας, καὶ [ἐ]χσαλείφσαι τὰ ὀνόμα-  
 [τα τῶν ὀμῆρων τῶν Σηλυμ[βρ]ιανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγγυη-  
 35 [τῶν εἶναι κ]ύριον τὸν γραμ[μα]τέα τῆς βουλῆς, [ὁ]π[ό]-  
 σοι εἰσὶ γεγ[ραμμένοι, ἐναντίον τῶμ πρυτάνε-  
 [ων· - - - μ]αχον δὲ τὸν Σηλυμβ[ρ]ιανὸν ἀναγρ-  
 [άφσαι ἐν τῇ] αὐτῇ στήλῃι πρόχσε[νον] Ἀθηναίων  
 [εἶναι δὲ κα]ὶ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῇμ προ[χσε]νίαν κα-  
 40 [θάπερ τῷ] πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβ[εις] καὶ Ἀπολ-  
 [λιδωρον κ]αλέσαι ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐπ[ὶ] χσέν]μα ἐ-  
 [ς αὐριον].

Compare no. 40. Alkibiades arrived at Athens B.C. 408, on the day of the Plynteria, twenty-fifth of Thargelion (June), and stayed until the Eleusinia were over (Sept.); within this time this decree was passed. We follow the chronology of Curtius, *Hist. Gr.*, Eng. trans., iii. pp. 479 foll. Beloch (*Philologus*, 43, pp. 261 foll.) dates these events a year later. The person whose name is partially preserved in line 37 was probably instrumental in handing over Selymbria to Alkibiades.

## 78 [59].

## Revision of the Laws : B.C. 409-408.

Στοιχηδόν. *U. I. A.* i. 61 and iv (1), p. 18; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jur. gr.* ii. 1 (no. xxi); Michel, *Recueil*, 78; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 52; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 25; cp. Kohler, *Hermes*, ii. 27 foll.; A. Philippi, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 105 (1872), p. 577; *Der Areopag und die Epheten*, (1874), pp. 333 foll.; Bergk, *Philologus*, 32, p. 669; Wecklein, *Ber. d. Münch. Akad.* 1873, pp. 1 foll.; R. Scholl, *Comm. in hon. Momms.* p. 460; E. Drerup, *Ueber d. bei den att. Rednern eingelegten Urkunden*, Kap. ii (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* Suppl. 24, 1898, pp. 264 foll.); L. Ziehen, *Rh. Mus.* 1899, pp. 321 foll.

Διόγν[η]τος Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτε[υε].

Διοκλήτῃς ἥρχε.

§ 1. [Ἐ]δοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ[ι]. Ἀκα[μ]αντ[ις] ἐπρυτά-  
υενε, [Δι]δ[γ]-

υητος ἐγραμμάτευε, Εὐ(θύ)δικος[ς] ἐπεσ[τ]τάτει. [Χσ]ε[υ]οφ[άνης]  
εἴ[τ]πε· [τ]δ[υ]

5 Δράκοντος νόμον τὸμ περὶ τοῦ φ[ό]νου ἀν[α]γρα[φ]σά[ν]τ[ων]  
οἱ ἀ[ν]αγρ[α]φῇ-

ς τῶν νόμων παραλαβόντες παρὰ (τ)οῦ [βασιλέως μετὰ τοῦ  
γραμμ]ατέω-

ς τῆς βουλῆς ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κ[α]τ[α]θέν[τ]ων πρόσθεν  
τῇ[ς] στο-

ᾱς τῆς βασιλείας. οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἀ[π]ομ[ισ]θωσάντων κατὰ  
τὸν νό[μ]ο-

ν. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀ[ρ]γύριον[ι].

§ 2. *Law of Dracon.*

10 Πρώτος ἄχσων. (*Unpremeditated murder.*) καὶ ἑὰμ  
[μ]ῇ 'κ [π]ρονο[ί]ας [κ]τ[εί]νῃ τίς τινα, φεύγειν. δι-

κάξειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτ[ι]ῶ[ν] φ[ό]νον[ι] ἢ [ἑ]άν τις αἰτιᾶ-  
ται ὥς βου[λ]-

εύσαντα· τοὺς [δ]ὲ ἐφέτας διαγν[ώ]ναι[ι].

*Conditions of prosecution and reconciliation.* Of the next lines, though much mutilated, we give the restoration made by Köhler by help of Demosth. in *Macartatum*, p. 1069, 57, together with the restorations given in Dareste, *Inscr. Jur. gr.* of ll. 15, 16, and the later sections as follows:—[αἰδέσασθαι δ', ἑὰμ μὲν πατήρ] ἢ[ι] ἢ ἀδελφὸς[ς] ἢ ὑψ[ς], ἅπαντας, ἢ τὸν κ[ω]λύοντα

15 κρατεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ 'ο]ῦ||τοι ῥοσ[ι, μ]ε[χ]ρ' ἀ[ν]εφ[σι]ότ[η]τος .κ[α]λ  
 ἀνεφ[σ]ιοῦ, ἐὰν 'ἀπαντες αἰδέσα]σθαι ἐθέλωσ[ι], τὸν ('ὁ)δ[ρ]κ[ον]  
 [ὀμόσαντας· ἐὰν δὲ τούτων μὴδ' 'εἰς ἦι, κτελ]νῃ δὲ ἄκω[ν], γ[ν]ῶσ[ι]  
 δ]ἐ 'οἱ πεν]τ[ήκοντα καὶ 'εἰς 'οἱ ἐφέται ἄκοντα] | κτεῖναι, ἐσέσθ[ω]ν  
 δέ[κα 'οἱ φράτορες ἐὰν ἐθέλωσιν. τούτους δ]ἐ ['ο]ι πεντ[ήκον]τ[α]  
 καλ] 'εἰς ἀρ[ι]σ[τίν]δην 'αιρείσθων]. In line 18, ἐσέσθων means  
 'allow to enter the country (ἐσίημι).'

20 The law is to be retrospective. [Καὶ 'οἱ πρό]τε[ρ]||ον κτελ]ν[α]ν-  
 τες ἐν τ[ῷ]δε τῷ θεσμῷ ἐνεχέσθων]

The murderer to be placed under an interdict (cp. Demosth. *loc. cit.* 57 *ad init.*). [Προειπεῖν δὲ τῷ] (κ)τελ]ναντι  
 ἐν ἀ]γο[ρ]ῃ[αἰ, ἐντ]δ[ς ἀνεφσιό]τητος καὶ ἀνεφσιοῦ· συνδιώκει]ν |  
 δὲ [καὶ ἀνε]φ[σ]ιοὺς καὶ ἀνεφσιῶν παῖδας καὶ γαμβροὺς καὶ  
 πενθεροὺς] κ[α]λ φ[ρ]άτ[ρο]ρ[ας]. 'Εντ[δ]ς ἀνεφσ.=of nearer kin  
 than first cousin; ll. 24-26 are hopelessly mutilated.

Conditions admitting of the killing of the murderer  
 (cp. Demosth. *in Aristocr.* 37 and 28 f.). ['Εὰν δὲ τις τ]δ[ν  
 ἀνδροφόνον κτεῖνῃ ἢ αἴτιος ἦι φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφ]ορ[ι]α[ς]  
 [καὶ ἄθλων καὶ 'ιερών 'Αμφικτυονικῶν, ὥσπερ τὸν 'Αθηναῖ]ον κ[τελ]-  
 ναντα ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι· διαγιγνώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφ]έτα[s. ||  
 30 τοὺς δὲ ἀνδροφόνους ἐχσεῖναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν] τῇ[ι]  
 ἡμε[ρ]ῇ, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μή, μὴδ' ἀποιωνᾶν, ἢ διπλοῦν ὀφείλειν  
 'ὅσ]ο[ν ἂν καταβλάψῃ - - -]

Murder in justifiable self-defence. ['Εὰν δὲ τις ἄρξαν]α  
 35 χεῖρ]ῳ[ι] ἀδίκων κτεῖνῃ - - - ἐὰν] ἀέκων κ[τελ]νῃ, δικάζειν δὲ  
 τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτιῶν φόνου, διαγνῶναι δ]ἐ τοὺς ἐ[φ]έτας].

Murder of a slave. [Καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ φόνου δίκας εἶναι  
 δοῦλον κτείναντι] ἢ ἐλεύθ]ε[ρ]ο[ν].

Murder in self-defence (cp. Demosth. *in Aristocr.* 60).  
 ['Εὰν δὲ τις φέροντα ἢ ἄγοντα βίαι ἀδίκως εὐθὺς ἀμυν]όμενος  
 κ(τ)[εῖνῃ, νηποιεῖ τεθνάναι].

The rest is hopeless, but contains the word μετ]α[ο]ή[σῃ],  
 which we know from Demosth. *in Aristocr.* 62 to have come  
 from the last paragraph of the law.

One of the measures which followed the restoration of the

democracy, in the summer of B.C. 411, was a revision of the laws. This appears from Lysias (*in Nicom.* init.), who accuses Nikomachos, one of the ἀναγραφῆς of this decree (§ 1), of having been six years about the business (cp. Grote, ch. 66; and p. 121 *supra*). These ἀναγραφῆς were appointed, along with the συγγραφῆς (commissioners for revising the laws and submitting the proposals for their promulgation to council and people), to copy and publish the new laws. This revision was interrupted by the calamities which soon followed: but the work was revived upon the restoration under Thrasybulos, B.C. 403; see Andok. *De Myst.* 83,—Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ· Τεισαμενὸς εἶπε· πολιτεύεσθαι Ἀθηναίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, νόμοις δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος, καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς, οἷσπερ ἐχρώμεθα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, κ.τ.λ. The mover of our decree, Xenophanes, was probably one of the συγγραφῆς of B.C. 411 (Thuk. viii. 67); it authorizes the γραμματεῖς of the βουλή to give them a true copy of Drakon's law, that it might be inscribed and set up in the usual place: cp. Harpokration, s. v. κύρβεις· ἀναγράψαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τὰς κύρβεις, ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείᾳ. The portion of Drakon's law before us begins in a way (καὶ . . .) that proves the actual beginning to be missing, probably because it had been superseded by later legislation. The missing paragraph must have dealt with premeditated murder. The law as given here is taken from the first 'axon,' not of Solon, but of Drakon (for Solon's first 'axon' contained among others the law prohibiting the exportation of all products of the soil except oil, and therefore probably its other laws also had a reference to commercial matters). The Drakonian law of homicide, however, was retained by Solon, and had come down through him (Plutarch, *Solon* 17). The βασιλεῖς who try cases of involuntary murder are either (1) the βασιλεῖς ἄρχοντες from time to time in office, or (2) the φυλοβασιλεῖς, or (3) both combined. The first theory is excluded for reasons of Greek; we may take our choice between the two others. These βασιλεῖς preside over the inquiry into the cause of the murder, and the decision (διαγνῶναι) is thereupon given by the fifty-one ephetai, a college perhaps instituted by Drakon (but see Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 234, note 2). For the

procedure in cases of bloodshed generally see Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (Eng. transl.), pp. 379 foll.

## 79.

**Lakedaimonian Allies at Aigospotamoi : B.C. 405.**

Seven pedestals from the chamber at Delphoi which contained the Lakedaimonian dedication commemorating the victory of Aigospotamoi. Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi (1897), pp. 284 foll. Comp. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 263.

- (1) Κ[ιμμ]έριος | Πελασγοῦ | Ἐφέσιος.
- (2) Αἰαντίδης | Παρθενίου | Μιλήσιος in front, and on top  
Αἰαντίδης | Παρθενίου | Μιλήσιος. | Τείσανδρος ἐποί[η]σε.
- (3) [Θ]εόπομπος | Λαπόμπου | Μάλιος. | Ἄλυντος ἐποίει.
- (4) Αὐτόνομος | Σαμίον | Ἐρετριεύς.
- (5) Ἀπολλόδωρος | Καλλίφωνος | Τροζάνιος.
- (6) [Κώμ]ων | . . . νδα | [Μεγα]ρεύς.
- (7) - - - | - - ρ. | Κορίνθιος.

Pausanias (x. 9. 7-11) describes the group of bronze statues of ὅσοι συγκατεϊργάσαντο τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἢ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχησάντων. The names which have survived are those of seven admirals of the allies, all of whom are named by Pausanias; but as he mentions two Korinthians (Aristophantos and Pythodotos), and does not give their father's names, it is impossible to identify the seventh. The two sculptors are also named by him. The statues were popularly known as the ναύαρχοι, and in later times were famous for their bluish-green patina—οἷον ἀρεχνῶς θαλαττίους τῇ χροῇ καὶ βυθίους ἐστῶτας (Plutarch, *de Pyth. orac.* 2; compare *Lysand.* 12). The best, if not all of them, were probably carried off to Constantinople.

## 80.

**The Return of the Democrats from Phyle : B.C. 404-403.**

A stèle of Pentelic marble, inscribed on both sides; found on the Akropolis in 1884, and now in the National Museum. Ζροίχηδόν. E. Ziebarth, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, xxiii (1898), pp. 27 foll.; H. von Prott, *ibid.* xxv (1900),



pp. 34 foll. The stone is broken on all sides save the top; the first two lines on the front, and the names of the tribes (of which one, *Αιγηίδος*, is preserved) on the back, were in larger letters than the rest.

(α)

[Λυσιιάδης ἐγ]ραμμάτευε,

[Πυθόδωρ]ος ἦρχε·

[Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . . . ἐπρυτάν]ευσ, Λυσιιάδης  
ἐγραμμάτευε, Δημόφίλος ἐπ[εστάτει, Ἀρχίνου]ς εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν  
. . . . . οἱ μέτοικ(?)οι ὅσοι συνκατηλθον ἀπὸ  
5 Φυλῆς ἢ τοῖς κατελ[θοῦσι τῶν πολιτ]ῶν (?) . . . . .  
. . . . .] ἐψηφίσθαι, Ἀθηναίους· εἶναι  
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις πολιτεία]ν . . . . .  
. . . . .], νόμοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς  
χρ[ῆσθαι οἷς κα]ὶ περὶ Ἀθηναίων . . . . .  
. . .] συνεμάχησαν δὲ τῇμ μάχην τῇμ Μουνιχίασιν, τὸν δ[ὲ] . . . . .  
. . . | . . . . . ὅ]τε  
αἱ διαλλαγὰὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐποίουν τὰ προστατ[τόμενα] . . | . . . . .  
. . . . . ἐ]γγύησιν  
καθάπερ Ἀ]θηναίους, τοὺς δὲ - - -

(β)

(Col. 1 is lost; of Col. 4 but a few letters remain.)

Col. 2.

Χαιρέδημος γεωρ(γός)  
Λεπτίν(η)ς μάγε(ιρος)  
Δημήτριος τέκ[τ(ων)]  
Εὐφορίων ὄρεωκ(όμος)  
5 Κηφισ[ό]δωρος οἰκο(δόμος)  
[Ἑ]γ[η]σίας κηπωρ(ός)  
[Ἑ]π[α]μείνων ὀνοκ[ό]μος  
. . . ωπος ἐλαιογ(- -)  
Γ[λ]αυ[κ]ίας (?) γεωρ(γός)  
10 . . . ων (?) καρνο(- -)  
[Διογύ]σιος γεωρ(γός)

Col. 3.

Βενδιφάνης σκαφη(φόρος ?)  
Ἑμπορίων γεωρ(γός)  
Παίδικος ἀρτοπ(οῖός, or -ώλης)  
Σωσίας γναφ(εύς)  
Ψάμμυς γεωρ(γός)  
Ἑγερσις  
Ὀνα . μης - - -  
Εὐκολίων μισθω(τός ?)  
Καλλίας ἀγαλμ(ατοποιός)  
Αἰγηίδος  
Ἀθηνογί[τ]ων

In (α), ll. 5, 6, Ziebarth restores ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίους εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις αὐτῶν | καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούλυνται], von Prott ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίους· εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις πολιτεία]ν καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν

βούλωνται]. The latter restoration is doubtful Greek; and, in both cases, the formula as to choosing their tribes, &c., is inapplicable to the *ἐκγονοί*; so far as it concerns the new citizens themselves, it seems to be covered by the formula in the next line.

Aischines (iii. *in Ctes.* 187 foll.) describes the honours which the Athenians paid τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν. On the motion of Archinos, one τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, they received between them a thousand drachmai to be spent in sacrifices and dedications, and each a laurel crown; the Council were to make strict inquiry as to who were the actual persons besieged in Phyle by the Lakedaimonians and the Thirty. Finally, he quotes the epigram in honour of the restorers of the democracy:

τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων  
 δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους  
 θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν  
 ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

None of these matters is mentioned in the unfortunately scanty remains of this psephisma. Yet, as it relates to the return of the democrats ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, we must suppose that Aischines only quoted that part of the decree which concerned his argument. There must have been room on the lower part of the stelè for these further provisions on the one side and the names of the citizens honoured on the other; and the epigram, doubtless, also had its place. The part preserved deals with the conferring of an honour on certain persons who *συνκατῆλθον* (with the Athenian democrats) from Phyle, or otherwise assisted their return. These persons' names, with their professions appended, are arranged *tributim* on the reverse of the stone. It is clear that the honour received is that of citizenship. In l. 5 we should expect ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ; the use of Ἀθηναίους instead of the Council (if indeed von Prott's interpretation of the passage is correct) points to the period immediately following the return of the democracy. It was in the year of Pythodoros that the διαλλαγὰί (l. 8), or arrangements for truce preceding the definite agreement between the two parties, were effected, and the democracy

was reckoned as having been restored ('Αθ. Πολ. 41), although the final settlement was delayed until the year of Xenainetos (B.C. 401-400). There seems no reason to suppose with Ziebarth that the rewards in question were similarly delayed, and to restore the archon's name as [Ξεναίνετ]ος. In ll. 7, 8 were recounted the services of the people who are honoured with the citizenship.

The quondam aliens (the strangeness of some of whose names is noticeable) are arranged under the tribes in which they have newly been enrolled. Some of the abbreviated professional names are hard to complete. Col. 2: δνοκόμος (on the analogy of ὄρεωκόμος and the like) is due to Dr. Wilhelm; Ziebarth's δνοκόπος is less probable. In the next line the suggestion ἐλαιοπ(ώλης) is said to be precluded, the Γ being certain. L. 10 probably καρνο(πώλης). Col. 3: l. 1, the restoration σκαφη(φόρος) is doubtful, because the σκαφηφορία was a leiturgia to which metoikoi as a class were liable (see Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities*, Eng. trans., p. 181); the name could therefore hardly serve as a professional title for a single metoikos. L. 8, μισθω(τός) must mean a hired labourer.

The mover of the decree, Archinos, is favourably mentioned in the 'Αθ. Πολ. (40) for his statesmanlike conduct during the early years of the new democracy; and his opposition to Thrasybulos, his old comrade, in regard to the latter's illegal proposal to enfranchise all aliens who had come in with him from Peiraieus, is characteristic and famous ('Αθ. Πολ. 40; Aisch. iii. in *Ctes.* 195). To him was due also the official abandonment of the Attic alphabet.

PART IV  
FROM THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUKLEIDES  
TO CHAIRONEIA

B.C. 403-338.

81 [64].

Honours to the Samian Demos for their fidelity:

B.C. 405-403.

Στοιχῆδόν. Found at Athens, three fragments, A in 1888, B and C in 1876. A: Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1889, pp. 24 foll.; Lipsius, *Leipziger Studien*, xiii (1891), pp. 411 foll.; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), 1 b (p. 1); Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 56; Roberts-Gardner, ii. 28. B and C: *C. I. A.* ii. 1 b (p. 393); Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 57. The whole: Michel, *Recueil*, 80; P. Foucart, *Revue des Études anciennes*, i (1899), pp. 181 foll. Cp. Hartel, *Attisch. Staatsrecht*, pp. 207 foll. (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1879, xcii. pp. 116 foll.); Dittmar, *de Athen. more exteris coronis publ. ornandi* (*Leipziger Studien*, 1891, xiii), pp. 191 foll.; Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht* (1892), p. 95; Swoboda, *Symbolae Prag.* (1893), pp. 214 foll.; Judeich, *Kleinasiat. Stud.* p. 26 (note 2).

After the battle of Aigospotamoi the Samian demos, which alone at this crisis stood by Athens (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 2. 6), expelled the oligarchs from their city and sent two embassies (see lines 7, 8 of the first decree) offering to join hands with Athens to continue the war. To this offer the first decree refers. In B.C. 404 Lysandros took Samos by siege, expelled the demos and established an oligarchy (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 3. 6). After the restoration of the democracy at Athens, further honours were voted to the faithful (and now exiled) Samian democracy, as recorded in the second and third decrees. But Samos remained in the power of Sparta until B.C. 394.

Above is a relief with the tutelary deities of the two states joining hands (Athena and Hera); see Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, no. 475 a; Collignon, *Sculpt. gr.* ii. p. 117; E. Petersen, *Mitth. d. arch. Inst., Röm. Abth.* 1889, p. 69.

Α. Κηφισοφῶν Παιανιεύς | ἐγραμμάτευε. | Σαμίους ὅσοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. ||

*First decree (B.C. 405). § 1. Compliments to the Samians.*  
 5 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνευε, Πολύμνις Εὐωνυμεὺς | ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἀλεξίας ἦρχε, Νικοφῶν Ἀθμονεύς ἐπεστάτει. Γνώμη Κλεισόφου | καὶ συνπρυτάνεων ἐπαινέσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Σαμίους τοῖς τε προτέροισι ἤκουσι καὶ τοῖς νῦν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύνανται ἀγαθόν, ||  
 10 καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Σαμίοις·

§ 2. *Grant of general autonomy.* καὶ ἀντὶ ᾧ ἐν πεποιή-  
 κασιν Ἀθηναίους καὶ νῦν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται καὶ | ἐσηγοῦνται ἀγαθὰ, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Σαμίους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι, | πολιτευομένους ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται· καὶ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται ὡς ἐπιτηδεῖσιν ἀμφοτέροις, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν,  
 15 ἐπειδὴν εἰρήνη γένηται, τότε περὶ || τῶν ἄλλων κοινῇ βουλευέσθαι. τοῖς δὲ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν | αὐτονομίους ὄντας, καὶ τᾶλλα ποιεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καθάπερ | ξύνκειται Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Σαμίοις· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκκλημάτων ἃ ἀγ γίγνηται | πρὸς ἀλλήλους διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς δίκας κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς τὰς οὔσας.

§ 3. *Provision for contingencies of peace and war.* [Ε]ὰν δέ τι ἀναγκαῖον γίγνηται διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς  
 20 πολι[τ]είας ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις, πρὸς τὰ παρόντα βουλευομένους ποιεῖν | [ῆ]ι ἂν δοκῇ βέλτιστον εἶναι· περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔαγ γίγνηται, εἶναι κατὰ ταῦτα | [κ]αθάπερ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς νῦν οἰκοῦσιν Σάμον· ἔαν δὲ πολεμεῖν δέη, παρασκ[ε]υάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν δύνωνται ἄριστα πράττοντας μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν. | [ἐὰ]ν δὲ πρεσβείαν ποι πέμπωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, συμπέμπειν καὶ τοὺς  
 25 ἐξάμους παρόντας || [ἐάν] τινα βούλωνται καὶ συμβουλευεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἔχωσιν ἀγαθόν.

§ 4. *Arrangement as to the ships now at Samos.* ταῖς δὲ τριήρεσι | [ταῖς] οὔσαις ἐς Σάμῳ χρήσθαι αὐτοῖς δοῦναι ἐπισκευασ-  
 μένοισι καθότι ἂν αὐ[τ]οῖς δοκῇ· τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν τριη[ρ]άρχων, ᾧ ἦσαν αὐταὶ αἱ νῆες, ἀπογράψαι | [τοὺς πρέσβ]εις τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· καὶ τούτων εἴ πού | [τι ὑπάρχει ἀνα]γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὡς παρεληφόντων τὰς τριήρεις, ||

30 [ἅπαντα ἐξαλειψάν]των οἱ νεωροὶ ἀπανταχόθεν, τὰ δὲ σκευή τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐσ[πραξάντων ὡς τάχιστα καὶ] ἐπαναγκασάντων ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ἔχοντας τούτων | [τι ἐντελέῃ].

§ 5. *Rider. Further privileges. Recording of the decree.*  
[Γνώμη Κλεισόφου καὶ συνπρυτάνεων· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ· | [τὸ δὲ νῦν εἶναι τῇμ πολιτείαν τοῖς ἡ]κουσιν καθάπερ αὐτοὶ αἰτοῦνται, καὶ νεῖμαι | [αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα κληρωθέντας ἐς  
35 τ]ὰς φυλὰς δέκαχα· καὶ τὴν πορείαν παρα[σ]κευάσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοὺς στρατηγούς ὡς τάχιστα· καὶ Εὐμάχῳ καὶ τοῖς | [ἄλλοις Σαμίοις πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ Εὐμάχου ἡκουσ] ἐπαινέσαι ὡς οὖσιν ἀνδράσιν | [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καλέσαι δ' Εὐμ]αχον ἐ[πὶ δ]εῖπνον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον | [ἐς αὔριον. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα τ]ὸν γραμμ[ατέα τῆς] β[ουλ]ῆς μετὰ τῶν | [στρατηγῶν ἐ] στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κατα[θεῖναι ἐς πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλην]οταμίας ||  
40 [δοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον. ἀναγράψαι δ' ἐν Σάμῳ κατὰ ταῦτα τέ]λεσι τοῖς ἐκεί]νων. |

Kephisophon's name appears at the head of this inscription because he was secretary two years afterwards, when the third decree was passed, and when all three were inscribed. He also moved the second decree.

The definition ὅσοι Σαμίῳν κ.τ.λ. is intended to exclude Lakonizers from the benefits conferred by the decree; cp. § 3, τοῖς νῦν οἰκοῦσιν Σάμον.

§ 1. The formula γνώμη Κλεισόφου καὶ συνπρυτάνεων is unusual, but there are analogies from other magistracies (as γνώμη στρατηγῶν). Kleisophos seems to have belonged not to the Kekropid but to the Erechtheid tribe. It may be therefore that this motion was brought before the βουλή during the Erechtheid prytany, but that a new prytany (Kekropid) came in before the matter could be laid before the ekklesia. The motion however continued to stand in the name of the prytaneis under whom it was drawn up.

Τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτοῖς seems to be a euphemistic allusion to the murder of the aristocrats by which the Samian demos marked its loyalty to Athens immediately after the battle of Aigospotamoi (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 6).

§ 2. The συμβολαί now in existence (line 18) were made when Samos was an independent state; now, when the Sa-

mians have the Athenian citizenship, these *συμβολαί* are still to hold good. (Dittenberger.)

§ 3. The Athenians agree that the Samians shall receive the same terms as themselves in case of peace. This they endeavoured to effect, but in vain (Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. Varia*, 22). Line 24, ἐξάμου for ἐκ Σάμου.

§ 4. Philokles and Konon, when they went to the Hellespont, left twenty ships at Samos (Diod. xiii. 104). The trierarch who received a ship was regarded as owing it to the state. When these twenty ships were handed over to the Samians, the trierarchs could no longer be held responsible for them. The Samians were to fit out the ships as they pleased, hence the old tackle, &c., were to be returned to the dockyards.

§ 5. As Eumachos is, by virtue of the decree, an Athenian citizen, he is invited ἐπὶ δείπνον and not, like foreigners, ἐπὶ ξένια. This decree was probably engraved at the time, destroyed by order of the Thirty, and then, as we have seen, re-engraved under Kephisophon.

*Second decree*, B.C. 403-402. § 1. [Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Πανδ]ιονίς ἐπρυτάνευε, Ἀγύρριος Κ[ολλυ]τεὺς | [ἐγγραμμάτευε, Εὐκλείδης ἥρχε, Κα]λλίας Ὡαθεν ἐπεστάτει· Κηφισοφῶν [εἶπεν· | ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν] (ἄ)νδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἅπαντα | κύρια εἶναι ἂν πρότερον ὁ δῆμος] ἐψηφίσατο ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Σ[αμίων] ||

For Agyrhios cp. Dem. in *Timocr.* 134.

§ 2. *The Athenians to assist the Samians in their embassy*  
45 *to Sparta.* [πέμψαι δὲ τοὺς Σαμίους, ὥσπερ αὐ]τοὶ κελεύουσιν, ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτινα [ἂν αὐ]τοὶ βούλωνται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προ]σδέονται Ἀθηναίων συνπράττειν, προσελέσ[θαι | πρέσβεις· οὗτοι δὲ συνπρα]τόντων τοῖς Σαμίσις ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθῶν καὶ | κοινῇ βουλευέσθων μετὰ] ἐκείνων. § 3. *Praise of Ephesos and Notion for harbouring the Samian exiles:* ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐφεσίους καὶ Νο[τί]ας | ὅτι προθύμως ἐδέξαντο] Σαμίων τοὺς ἔξω ὄντας. § 4. *Further compliments:* προσαγαγεῖν δὲ  
50 τὴν πρεσβεῖαν || τῶν Σαμίων ἐς τὸν δῆμ[ον] χρηματίσ[α]σθαι ἐ(ά)ν του δέωνται· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ | [δείπνον τὴν πρεσβ]είαν τῶν

Σαμίων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον. § 5. *Kephisophon* (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 36) moves the adoption of the proposals contained in §§ 1 and 4 (second clause): Κηφισοφῶν | [εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κ(α)θάπερ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ κύρια | [εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμ]έν(α) πρότερον περὶ Σαμίων καθάπερ ἡ βουλή προβουλεύσασα | [ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσ]ήνεγκεν· κ(α)λέσαι δὲ 55 τὴν πρεσβείαν τῶν Σαμίων ἐπὶ δείπνον || [ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον] ἐς αὔριον. |

All the original proposals moved by Kephisophon were withdrawn (owing apparently to opposition in the course of the discussion, inspired by fear of offending Sparta).

*Third decree, in honour of Poses.* A small fragment, giving the ends of the last four lines, has recently been found by Dr. Wilhelm. § 1. [Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ἐρεχθίδης ἐπρυτάνευεν, Κηφισοφῶν Παι[ανι]εὺ[ς] ἐγραμμάτευε, Εὐκλ[είδης] ἥρχε, Πύθων ἐκ Κηδῶν ἐπεστάτει, Εὐ- [- - - εἶπε· | ἐπαινέσαι Ποσὴν τὸν] Σάμιον ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐσ[τ]ιν περὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν | [εὐ πεπόθηκε τὸν δῆμον, δ]οῦναι 60 αὐ[τ]ῷ τὸν δῆμον δωρεὰν πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς || [ἐς κατασκευὴν στεφάνου, οἱ δὲ ταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸ]ν ἐς τὸν δῆμον καὶ εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὃ τι ἀνδύνηται ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον | [τοῦ ψηφίσματος παραδοῦναι αὐ]τῷ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς αὐτίκα μάλα· | [καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ δείπνον Σαμίων τ]οὺς ἡκοντας ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον. | § 2. *Riders to the above probouleuma*: [Ὁ δέινα εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά]περ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Ποσὴν τὸν || 65 [Σάμιον καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἀγ]αθοὶ εἰσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, | [καὶ κύρια εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα πρότε]ρον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀναγρα[ψάτω] ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψηφίσμα ἐ[σ]τήλη] λιθίνῃ, οἱ δὲ ταμίαι παρασχόντων | [τὸ ἀργύριον ἐς τὴν στήλην, δοῦναι δὲ Πο]σῇ δωρεὰν τὸν δῆμον χιλίας δραχμὰς | [ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἀπὸ δ]ὲ τῶν χιλίων δραχμῶν 70 στέφανον ποῆσα||[ι καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τούτῳ στεφανοῦν αὐ]τὸν τὸν δῆμον ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα καὶ | [εὐνοίας τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίους· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ] καὶ Σαμίους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ [περὶ Ἀθηναίους· ἐὰν δὲ του δέωνται παρὰ] τοῦ δήμου, προσάγειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρυτάνεις | [ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν ἀεὶ μετὰ τὰ ἱερ]ά· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς τοὺς Ποσοῦ | [τοὺς πρυτάνεις



ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐς τὴν πρώτῃην ἔδραν· καλέσαι δὲ κα[ὶ ἐπὶ] ξένια ||  
 75. . . . .] καὶ Σαμίων τοὺς  
 ἐπ[ιδημοῦντα]s.

## 82 [62].

Restoration of a monument destroyed by the Thirty :  
 probably B.C. 403.

Στοιχῆδόν. Found on the Akropolis. The text from C. Curtius, *Hermes*, iv. 404; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 3; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>1</sup>, 49; Michel, *Recueil*, 81.

## Θεοί.

[Ἀμύντο]ρος, Εὐρυπύλου,  
 [Ἀργεί]ου, Λόκρου, Ἀλκίμου.  
 [Ἐδοξε]ν τῇ βουλῇ· Οἰνητὶς  
 5 [ἐπρυ]τάνευε, Δεξιθέος ἐγ-  
 [ραμ]μάτευε, Δημοκλῆς ἐπε-  
 [σ]τάτει, Μονιππίδης εἶπε· Ἀ-  
 μύντορι καὶ Εὐρυπύλῳ κ-  
 αὶ Ἀργείῳ καὶ Λόκρῳ κα-  
 10 ἰ [Ἀ]λκίμῳ τοῖς Ἀπημάντου  
 παισὶ, ἐπειδὴ καθιρέθη  
 ἡ στήλη [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκον[τ]-  
 α ἐν ᾗ ἦ[ν] αὐτοῖς ἡ προξεν-  
 ῖα, ἀναγράψ[αι] τὴν στήλην  
 15 τὸν γραμμα[τέα τ]ῆς βουλῆς  
 τέλεσι τοῖς Εὐρυπύλῳ κα-  
 λέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια Εὐ-  
 ρύπυλον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖο-  
 ν ἐς αὔριον.

Ἀμύντωρ Ἀπημάντου occurs in a fragmentary decree (*C. I. A.* ii. 4) containing a list of names of *Thasians* who had been exiled for their Athenian sympathies, and were received in Athens, being granted ἀτέλεια καθάπερ Μαντινεῦσιν. It is the decree alluded to by Demosth. xx. *Lept.* 59 (see Wilhelm in *Eranos Vindob.* pp. 241 foll.). The sons of Apemantos had probably been exiled from Thasos in the revolution of B.C. 411 (*Thuk.* viii. 64; *supra* no. 75; cp. also Lysandros'

treatment of Thasos, Nepos, *Lysand.* 2; Grote, ch. 65). Eurypylos, happening to be at Athens, discovers that this decree has been destroyed by the Thirty, and obtains permission to restore it.

## 83 [61].

Delos freed from Athenian control: about B.C. 403.

Discovered in the French explorations, and published by Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* iii. p. 12; Müllensiefen, *de tit. Lacon. dial.* (1882), no. 37; Köhl, *Inscr. Gr. Ant.* 91; *Imag.* (1898), p. 30; Cauer, 24; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 4415; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 60; Michel, *Recueil*, 180. Cp. de Schoeffer, *de Delī ins. rebus* (1889), p. 50 seq.

- - ν - - -  
 . . ν καὶ θ[ιῶ-  
 ν] καὶ ναῤῥῶ-  
 ν καὶ τῶν χ-  
 5 ρημάτων τ-  
 ῶν τῶ θιῶ.  
 Ἐβασίλευον  
 Ἄγισ, Πανσανίας·  
 Ἐφόροι ἦσαν  
 10 Θυιωνίδας  
 Ἀριστογενίδας  
 Ἀρχίστας  
 Σολόγας  
 Φειδίλας.  
 15 Ἐν Δήλῳ [ἦρχ-  
 εἰν Λ - - - -

The first six lines are in the Lakonian dialect and alphabet, the rest is in Ionic and was presumably added by the Delians. But the lapidary in line 14 has spelled Φειδίλας, whereas Ε is not used for εἰ in his alphabet. The date is fixed within near limits. Agis appears to have died B.C. 402-401, or 398 at the latest (Niese in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encycl.* i. 819); and Delos was in Athenian hands until Aigospotamoi. The names of the ephors down to 404-403 B.C. are known (Xen.

*Hell.* ii. 3. 9, 10; 4. 36); and none of them recur here. Of the years from 403 to 398 the first seems most probable. This document can hardly be anything else than a decree of the Lakedaimonians instating the Delians in the full possession of their own temples and temple treasures. After the two kings, the five ephors are named. On the relations between Athens and Delos see nos. 50, 76, 104; von Schöffer's work quoted above; and Mr. Jebb's paper on Delos in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 7, and esp. pp. 23, 58.

## 84 [65].

The Korinthian War: alliance between Boiotia and  
Athens: B.C. 395-394.

Στοιχιδύν. From the Akropolis. Kohler in *Hermes*, v. 1; *C. I. A.* ii. 6; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 61; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 95, n. 100 (xxiv).

[Θε]οί.

[Συμ]μαχία Βοιω[τῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ-  
ν ἀεὶ] χρόνον.

[Ἐάν τις ἦν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἢ  
5 κατὰ] γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Βοιω-  
τ[οὺς] [π]αντὶ σθ[ένοι καθότι αὖν ἐπαγγέλλ-  
ωσιν] Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· καὶ ἑά-  
ν τις ἦν ἐπὶ [πολέμῳ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἢ κα-  
τὰ γῆν ἢ] κ[α]τὰ [θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναί-  
10 [ους - - - κ.τ.λ.]

The lacunae are easily restored, as the formulae are well known. For the history see Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 3-16; Lysias, *pro Mantith.* § 13: πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὅτε τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ εἰς Ἀλιάρτον ἔδει βοηθεῖν, κ.τ.λ. (cp. Andok. iii. *de Pace* 25). The decree was proposed by Thrasybulos (see Grote, ch. 74; Holm, iii. ch. 3). Observe that the 'Boiotians' are spoken of throughout, for at this time Thebes was supreme in Boiotia: after the peace of Antalkidas the Boiotian towns were declared independent (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 32 foll., cp. vi. 3. 11 foll.).

## 85 [67].

Korinthian War: alliance between Athens and  
the Lokrians: B.C. 395.

Στοιχειδόν. From the Akropolis. Köhler, *Hermes*, v. 2; C. I. A. ii. 7; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 101 (xxv).

..... Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λοκρῶν . .  
 ..... ἐάν τις ἴη ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἢ κ-  
 ατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Λοκροὺς παντὶ σθένει κ-  
 αθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσι Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. [καὶ ἐ-  
 5 ἂν τις ἴη ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ [θάλα-  
 ατταν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους παντὶ] σθένει καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγ-  
 ἐλλωσι Λοκροὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν]. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἄλλο δοκῇ Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς συμβουλευομένοις, τοῦτο κύριοι εἶ-  
 ναι].

The Opuntian Lokrians are meant, who are termed *Λοκροί* without further qualification by Herodot. (vii. 132) and Thuk. (ii. 9). The Korinthian war arose out of a quarrel between Lokris and Phokis concerning *χώρας ἀμφισβητήσιμου* (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 3), the Lokrians being supported by Thebes, the Phokians by Sparta; the underlying cause being the Theban reaction against Lakedaimonian supremacy. See Xen. *Hell.* iv. 3. 15 and 2. 17. It is probable that the treaty before us was concluded before the battle of Haliartos, at the same time with the preceding. See Grote, ch. 74; Holm, iii. ch. 3.

## 86 [66].

Fragments of a Treaty between Athens and Eretria:  
B.C. 394.

Στοιχειδόν. Found at Athens: C. I. A. iv (2), p. 5, no. 7 b; cf. *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 1877, p. 212; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1887, p. 144; Lolling, *Sitzgsber. d. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1887, p. 1186; Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xv. p. 1, no. 1; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 62; R. von Scala, *Staatsverträge*, i. p. 100, n. 106 (xxvi).

Ἐρετριέω[ν συμμαχία]

καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ· Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευ-

εν], Χελωνίων Θεογ[νήτου . . . . . ἐγραμμ-  
 5 ἀτε]νευ, Εὐβουλίδη[ς ἦρχεν . . . . .  
 ἐπεστ]άτει· Γναθί[ος εἶπε· συμμαχούς εἶναι Ἐ-  
 ρετριάς καὶ Ἀ]θην[αίους - - - -]

(here probably followed the clause binding the two parties to aid each other in case of war)

[ - - - κατὰ] τὸ [δ]υνατό[ν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν δο-  
 κῇ ἄμεινον εἶναι τ]οῖν πολέοιν κοινῇ[ι βου-  
 10 λευομένοιιν, τοῦτ]ο κύριον εἶ[ναι· [δ]μόσα[ι  
 δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν τ]οὺς στρατηγ[οὺς καὶ τῇ-  
 ν βουλῇν καὶ τοὺς ἑ]ππέας, Ἐρετρίων δὲ τ[οὺς  
 στρατηγ[οὺς καὶ τ]ῇν βουλῇν καὶ το[ὺς ἑ]π[έ-  
 15 ας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας] ἀρχάς· ὑπάρχειν δ[ὲ . . .]σ.  
 [. . . . .]ν· ὁμνύναι δὲ τ[ὸ]ν [ν]όμιμ[ο]-  
 ν ὄρκον ἑκατέρω[ς τὸν παρὰ σφισιν αὐτ]ο-  
 ῖς· ἐλέσθαι δὲ πρ[έ]σβεις ἀντίκα μάλ[α] τῇ[ν β]-  
 ουλῇν δέκα ἄνδρ[ας, πέντε μὲν ἐκ τῆς βο]υλ-  
 ῆς, πέντε δὲ ἐξ ἰδι[ω]τῶν, οὔτινες ἀπο[λήψο]-  
 20 νται τοὺς ὄρκους πα[ρὰ] Ἐρετ[ρ]ιέω[ν, - - -]

Xenophon, in his catalogue of the forces on the side of Athens in the Korinthian war, says: καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχίλιον (*Hell.* iv. 2. 17). So Diod. xiv. 82: εὐθὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τε Εὐβοία ἅπασα προσέθετο, κ.τ.λ. The present document appears from the heading (which has merely ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ, without the addition καὶ τῷ δήμῳ) to be a probouleuma of the council adopted by the ekklesia, without any alteration in the heading.

## 87 [68].

### Battle of Korinth and Battle of Koroneia : July, August, B.C. 394.

On a handsome funeral monument found in the Kerameikos: Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι*, no. 13; Köhler, *Monatsber. d. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1870, pp. 272 foll.; Rayet, *Bull. de l'École. franç. d' Ath.* i. p. 217; *C. I. A.* ii. 1673; Brückner, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abh.* xiv (1889), p. 407; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 68; Michel, *Recueil*, 599; comp. A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers Athén.* pp. 415 foll.; Köpp, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 25.

Οἶδε ἱππέης ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορίνθῳ | φύλαρχος Ἀντιφάνης. | Με-

λησίας, Ὀνητορίδης, Λυσίθεος, Πάνδιος, Νικόμαχος, | Θεάγγελος,  
Φάνης, Δημοκλής, Δεξιλέως, Ἐνδηλος. | Ἐν Κορωνεΐαι· | Νεοκλεί-  
δης.

Pausanias says (i. 29. 11): κεῖνται δὲ (on the road from the Dipylon to the Akademy) καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες· ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα (so he moralizes) ὁ θεὸς ἔνταῦθα καὶ αὖθις ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μηδὲν ἄνευ τύχης εἶναι κ.τ.λ. He is however probably not alluding to this monument, which was erected only to the troopers. Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 2. 17) says that the Athenian cavalry at Korinth numbered six hundred; he does not give the number at Koroneia (*ibid.* 3. 15). In both battles, especially in the latter, the hard fighting was between the foot-soldiers; the cavalry were scarcely engaged. See the next inscription.

## 88 [69].

## Battle of Korinth: B.C. 394.

A beautiful stelè, discovered in 1863, just outside the Dipylon. Above the inscription is a fine relief: a youthful horseman is striking his fallen foe with a spear. See the illustrations in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, no. 438; Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Ant. Athens*, p. 580, or E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 396. For the inscription: Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτύμβ.* 540; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 2084; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 67. Cp. Sandys, *An Easter Vacation*, pp. 29, 30; A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers Athéniens* (1886), pp. 415 foll.; Brückner, *Jahrb. des Inst.* 1895, p. 204; Köpp, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 25.

Δεξιλέως Λυσανίου Θορκίος·  
ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρου ἄρχοντος·  
ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου  
ἐν Κορίνθωι τῶν πέντε ἱππέων.

Among the thousands of Attic tombs we know of, this one alone bears a date. Dexileos, named also in the preceding monument, was born in B.C. 414-413, when Teisandros was archon (wrongly called Πείσανδρος by Diod. xiii. 7). As eleven horsemen fell at Korinth, the expression τῶν πέντε ἱππέων must be referred to some unrecorded episode of the expedition, probably to some feat performed by five troopers. The six others mentioned in the previous inscription may have fallen

in the same battle, and that monument need not therefore, as Köpp supposes, refer to at least three engagements. Brückner's attempt to explain τῶν πέντε ἱππέων as a military rank is not convincing. According to Lysias (xvi. *pro Mantitheo* 15), the tribe of Mantitheos suffered most in the battle of Korinth. Sandys conjectures with probability that Mantitheos was of the same family as the Mantitheos mentioned by Demosth. (xxxii. *contr. Boeot.* 7 foll.), whose deme, like that of Dexileos, was Thorikos. Dexileos and Lysias' client therefore fought side by side as members of the tribe Akamantis.

## 89 [70].

## Honours to Konon, at Erythrai in Ionia: B.C. 394.

Inscribed στοιχηδόν on a stelè in a church at Erythrai: Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* pt. v. 39; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 199; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 65; Michel, *Recueil*, 500.

[Ἐδοξεν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
 [δήμῳ· Κ]όνωνα ἀναγράψαι  
 [εὐεργ]έτην Ἐρυθραίων  
 [καὶ π]ρόξενον, καὶ προε-  
 5 [δρί]ην αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐν Ἐρυ-  
 [θρ]ῆσιν καὶ ἀτέλειαν  
 [π]άντων χρημάτων καὶ  
 [ἐ]σαγωγῆς καὶ ἐξαγωγῆς  
 [κ]αὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης·  
 10 [κα]ὶ Ἐρυθραίων εἶναι  
 [ῆν] βούληται· εἶναι δὲ  
 [ταῦ]τα καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ-  
 [γόν]οις· ποιήσασθαι δὲ  
 [αὐτοῦ] εἰκόνα χαλκῆν  
 15 [ἐπ]ίχρυσον καὶ στήσαι  
 [ὅ]που ἂν δόξῃ Κόνωνι . . .  
 - - - καὶ - - -

This exactly accords with Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 1-2: Pharnabazos and Konon, after the victory of Knidos, went on a cruise round the islands and the maritime cities, expelling the Lako-

nian harmosts, and assuring the cities that their citadels should not be garrisoned nor their liberty interfered with οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες τὰτα ἡδοντό τε καὶ ἐπῆρνον κ.τ.λ. So Diod. xiv. 84.

## 90.

## Fortification of Peiraeus: B.C. 394-393.

Two stones built into the wall of the fortress Eëtionēia. P. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* xi (1887), pp. 130 foll.; Wachsmuth, *Ber. d. sächs. Akad.* 1887, p. 371, and *Stadt Athen.* ii. 1, p. iii, nos. 1, 2; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 197, nos. 830 b, c; Michel, *Recueil*, 575, 576; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 63, 64.

## A.

Ἐπὶ Διοφάντου ἀρχον-  
το(s), Σκιροφοριῶτος  
μηνός, ἐ[s] τὰ κατ' ἡ-  
μέραν ἔργα· ζεύγ-  
5 εσι τοὺς λίθους ἀγρουσι  
μισθός : ΗΠΔ  
σιδηρίων μι-  
σθός : ΠΤΤΤ

## B.

Ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἀρχοντο[s]  
ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἀρξάμε-  
νον μέχρι τοῦ μετώπ-  
ου τῶν πυλῶν τῶν κατὰ  
5 τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ἐπὶ δεξι-  
ᾷ ἐξιώντι· ΠΗΗΠΔΔΔΔ. μι-  
σθω(τής)· Δημοσθένης Β-  
οιώτιο[s] ἐπὶ] τῇ προσα-  
γωγῇ[ι] τῶν λίθων

The fortification of Peiraeus (though doubtless not the rebuilding of the Long Walls) was begun, as the first inscription shows, in June or July B.C. 394, before Konon brought assistance and money to Athens. He did not return thither until the spring of 393, having defeated the Lakedaimonian fleet off Knidos in August of the preceding year.



B: 2. σημεῖον, the mark indicating the starting-point of the work. 3. μέτωπον, apparently the pillar between the two wings of the gates. 5. This sanctuary of Aphrodite (possibly the one dedicated by Themistokles) must be distinguished from Konon's subsequent foundation (see Frazer on *Pausanias*, i. 1. 3). The fact that the contract is undertaken by a Boiotian is in accordance with the evidence of Xenophon (*Hellen.* iv. 8. 10) and Diodoros (xiv. 85), who say that Boiotians took part in the work. For other inscriptions, some of which show that the work went on until the year of Philokles (B.C. 392-391), see *C. I. A.* ii. 830, and iv (2), 830 *d, e*.

## 91 [71].

Honours to Dionysios I and his court:  
very early in B.C. 393.

Στοιχηδόν. A stelè found in the Dionysiac theatre, broken at the bottom and right, surmounted by a relief; Athena, with her shield and serpent, gives her hand to a woman holding a sceptre or torch, who represents Sicily (Schöne, *Gr. Reliefs*, Pl. vii. 49). Köhler in *Hermes*, iii. 157; *C. I. A.* ii. 8 (and p. 396); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 66; Michel, *Recueil*, 82; comp. Köhler, *Mittheil. des Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i (1876), pp. 4 foll.; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iv. p. 204; Holm, *Gesch. Sic.* ii. p. vii.

Ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Πανδιό]-  
νιδος ἔκτης πρυτανευούσης,  
ἥτις Πλάτων Νικοχάρους Φλυεὺς [ἐγρα]-  
μμάτευσεν.  
5 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ· Κινησίας εἶπε· περὶ ᾧν Ἄν]-  
δροσθένης λέγει, ἐπαινέσαι Δι[ο]νύσιον τὸν  
ν Σικελίας ἄρχ[ο]ν[τα] καὶ Λεπτίνην [τὸν ἀδελ-  
φόν] τὸν Διονύσιου καὶ Θεαρίδην τὸν ἀδελφόν  
ν] τὸν Διονυσίου καὶ Πολύξενον τὸν κηδεστή-  
10 ν τὸν Διονυσίου - - -]

The proposer is Kinesias the dithyrambic poet, whose lean figure and profligate life made him the favourite butt of Aristophanes and the comedians: the 6th prytany would be about the time of the Lenaia (Gamelion), and the place where the stelè was set up was the Dionysiac theatre. Dionysios I. was

all along an ally, not very active, of Sparta (Grote, ch. 83; Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 26, 28; vi. 2. 4, 33; vii. 1. 20, 28). But after the victory of Knidos (midsummer 394), when Konon sailed with Pharnabazos to the Saronic Gulf early in 393 (see Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 8. 7 foll.), so fast were Athenian hopes expanding, that Konon caused an Athenian embassy to be dispatched to Dionysios at Syrakuse, with the view of detaching him from Sparta, and allying him with Athens (Grote, ch. 75 *init.*). Lysias the orator, and two others, were sent (Lysias, xix. *de bonis Ar.* 19 foll.). Perhaps they carried with them the ψήφισμα before us: it is moved by a poet, who would probably be known to Dionysios. The tyrant had recently defeated the Karthaginians, and could thus be called the 'ruler of Sicily.' The most that the Athenians effected by this embassy was the neutrality of the Syrakusan power (Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 202). For the later relations between Athens and Dionysios see nos. 108, 112.

## 92 [72].

## Honours to Euagoras king of Kypros: B. C. 393.

Στοιχειδόν. Fragment found near the Dionysiac theatre. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 10 b, p. 397.

- - Κόνω[ν - -  
 ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ αὐ[τὸν καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι  
 στεφ]άνωι, ὃ δὲ κ[ῆρυξ ἀναγορευσάτω ἐν τῷ θε-  
 άτρω]ι ὅτ[α]ν ο[ἱ] τρα[γωιδοὶ ᾠσι ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἄ-  
 5 θη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[αν στεφανοῖ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκε-  
 ν τ]ῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίους· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων (?)  
 αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ[γόνους - -]

The formulae are easily restored. Euagoras, who had received honours from Athens some twelve or fourteen years before (*C. I. A.* i. 64, to which Wilhelm attaches iv (1), p. 129, 116 w), materially helped Konon at the battle of Knidos, and was rewarded with honours upon Konon's arrival at Athens: Isokrates, *Evag.* 54-57; cp. Pausan. i. 3. 1; Lysias, xix. *de bonis Ar.* 20; Demosth. xii. *Phil. Ep.* 10.

## 93.

## Relations between Athens and Karpathos : about B. C. 393.

Στοιχηδόν. On a marble slab found in Karpathos. P. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), p. 153, no. 1 ; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inscr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* i. p. 161, no. 977 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 69.

- [Ἔδοξεν τῇ βου]λῇ καὶ τῷ δῆ-  
 [μωι, Αἰγῆτις (or Οἰνῆτις) ἐπ]ρυτάνευε, Τει-  
 [σίας ἐγραμμά]τενε, Ἀθηνόδω-  
 [ρος ἐπεστάτ]ει· Κτησίας εἶπε·  
 5 [. . . τὸν Ἑτεο]καρπάθιον κα-  
 [ὶ τοὺς παῖδας κ]αὶ τὸ Ἑτεοκαρ-  
 [παθίων κοιν]ὸν γράψαι εὐερ-  
 [γέτας Ἀθηναί]ων, ὅτι ἔδοσα[ν  
 τὴν κυπάριτ]τον ἐπὶ τὸν νε[ώ-  
 10 ν τῆς Ἀθηναί]ας τῆς Ἀθηνῶμ μ-  
 [εδεούσης, καὶ] ἔαν τὸ Ἑτεοκαρ-  
 [παθίων κοινὸ]ν [α]ντονόμους.

(the next few lines are badly mutilated.)

- [- - - ὅσοι δὲ] νῦν καθειλήφα[σ]ι  
 [τῶν στρατιωτ]ῶν ἐξιέναι ἐ[κ  
 20 τῆς ἀκροπόλε]ως· ἔαν δέ τις [ἀ-  
 δικῇ ἢ . . . ἢ] Ἑτεοκαρπαθί-  
 [ων τὸ κοινὸν ἢ] ἀφαιρήται ἢ ἀ-  
 [λῶι τὴν στή]λην [ἀφανί]ζων (?) [δ-  
 φείλειεν πεντ]ήκοντα τάλαντα  
 25 [τῷ κοινῷ κ]αὶ τοῦπιδέκα[τ]ο-  
 [ν τῆς θεοῦ εἶνα]ι· δίκην δὲ εἶνα-  
 [ι πρὸς τοὺς θεσμο]θέτας ἐν Ἀ-  
 [θηναίοις. παρέ]χει]ν δὲ Ἑτεοκα-  
 [ρπαθίοις, ἔαν τ]ι δέωνται, Κω-  
 30 [ίους καὶ Κνι]δίους καὶ Ῥοδίους  
 [καὶ συμμάχ]ων οἵτινες ἂν δ[υ-  
 νατοὶ ᾧσιν] περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χ[ω-  
 ρία ἀγαθὸ]ν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωντα[ι.  
 γράψαι δὲ τ]αῦτα ἐν στήλῃ [λ-  
 35 ιθίνῃ ἐμ π]όλῃ καὶ ἐγ Καρ]π-

ἀθωι ἐν τῷ] ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλ[ω-  
 νος οὐπερ] ἐτμήθη ἡ κυπάριτ[τ-  
 os' Ἀγῆσαρχον δὲ τ . ν Λινδ[ .  
 . . . . .] τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναίο[is  
 40 . . . . .]ναι τῇγ κυπάριτ[το-  
 ν].

A second decree follows, which is too much mutilated to pay repetition here, but contains the name [Ἀγῆσαρχον. The same name is generally supplied in l. 5 (εἴπε[ν Ἀγῆσαρχον] Καρπάθιον) and l. 21; the safer readings here adopted are suggested by Wilhelm. The restoration of ll. 18 foll. is very uncertain.

The 'old temple' of Athena on the Akropolis was burnt down in B. C. 406-405 (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 6. 1). As late as B. C. 395-394 the Athenians were still engaged in restoring it. The next year saw the liberation of the south-eastern Aegean from Spartan domination by the victory of Knidos, and it was probably soon after this time that the people of Karpathos contributed a cypress-tree towards the rebuilding. In return the Athenians grant autonomy and various other privileges to Karpathos, and the newly found Athenian allies in these quarters are bound to show good offices to the same city. Of those mentioned, Kos joined Athens immediately after, Rhodes even before, the battle of Knidos; the Knidians in 391 and 390 were on the Lakedaimonian side, but just before that time had revolted. [Κνι]δίους is a more probable restoration than [Λιν]δίους, in spite of line 38, since although the city of Lindos at this time had a separate existence, it was not of any political significance. For the title of Athena in ll. 10, 11, compare the inscription on a boundary stone in Samos (Michel, *Recueil* 779): ὅρος τε|μένεος | Ἀθηνᾶς | Ἀθηνῶν | μεδεούσης.

## 94.

### Monetary Union between Mytilene and Phokaia: early in fourth century.

Ξροχηδόν. Found at Mitilini. Now lost. Conze, *Reise auf d. Insel Lesbos* (1865), pl. vi. 1; Newton, *Transactions of Royal Soc. of Lit.* viii (1866), 549 foll.; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* 213; Blass and Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xiii (1878), 382, 399 foll.; Clemm, *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii (1878), 608; R. Weil, *Studien auf d.*

*Gebiete des ant. Münzrechts* (1893), p. 14; Paton, *Inscr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 1; Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Gk. Coins, Troas, &c.*, p. 1xv; Hill, *Handbook of Gk. and Rom. Coins*, pp. 104, 105; Papageorgiu, *Uned. Inscr. von Myt.*, p. 16. Other references in Michel, *Recueil*, 8.

- ..... € ..... [ὅττι  
 δέ κε αἰ] πόλις [ἀ]μφότ[εραι] .....  
 . . . . γράφωισι εἰς τὰν [στάλλαν] ἥ ἐκκ-  
 ολάπτωισι, κῦ[ρ]ιον ἔστω. τ[ὸν δὲ κέρναν-  
 5 τα τὸ] χρύσιον ὑπόδικον ἔμμεναι ἀμφο-  
 τέρ]αῖσι ταῖς πολίεσσι· δικ[άσταῖς δὲ  
 ἔμ]μεναι τῶι μὲν ἐμ Μυτιλήναι [κέρναν-  
 τι] ταῖς ἄρχαις παύσαις ταῖς ἐμ Μ[υτιλ-  
 ῆ]ναι πλέας τ[ῶ]ν αἰμίσεων, ἐμ Φώκαι δ[ὲ τ]-  
 10 αῖς ἄρχαις παύσαις ταῖς ἐμ Φώκαι πλ[έ]-  
 ας τῶν αἰμίσεων[ν]. τὰν δὲ δίκαν ἔμμεναι  
 ἐπεί κε ὠνίαντος ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἑξ μῆνε-  
 σ(σ)ι. αἱ δέ κε καταγ[ρ]έθῃ τὸ χρύσιον κέρ-  
 ναν ὑδαρέστε[ρ]ο[ν] θέλων, θανάτῳ ζαμ-  
 15 ὡσθω· αἱ δέ κε ἀπνφ[ύ]γηι [μ]ῇ θέλων ἀμβρ[ό]-  
 την, τιμάτω τ[ὸ] δικαστήριον ὅττι χρῆ α-  
 ὕτ(ο)ν πάθῃ ἢ κατθέ[μ]εναι, ἃ δὲ πόλις ἀναί-  
 τιος καὶ ἀζάμιος [ἔσ]τω. ἔλαχον Μυτιλή-  
 ναοι πρόσθε κόπτην. ἄρχει πρότανις δ  
 20 πεδὰ Κόλωνον, ἐ[μ Φ]ώκαι δὲ δὲ πεδὰ Ἀρίσ[τ]-  
 αρχοι.

During the greater part of the fifth century, and down to about B. C. 350, one of the most important currencies of the west coast of Asia Minor consisted of electrum staters and sixths of staters issued by the cities of Phokaia in Ionia and Mytilene in Lesbos. In this inscription is recorded the agreement come to between the two cities with regard to the issue of the coins. None of the staters of Phokaia of this period has come down to us, and only one of Lesbos; nevertheless, we know from literary sources (Thuk. iv. 52; Demosth. xl. *in Boeot.* 36) that the Phokaian staters at least were an important currency; while an enormous variety of sixths of both mints has come down to us, and, as the coins are small and easily lost, must represent a very much larger original issue. As the style of the coins permits us to date the earliest sixths to

about 480 or at latest B. C. 450, the agreement recorded on the stone may be a renewal of an earlier convention. If, as is less likely, it is the first convention made between the two cities,<sup>a</sup> we must suppose that it was entered into as conducive to more profit than the policy of competition hitherto adopted. The coins are very similar, those of Phokaia being distinguished by a small seal (φώκη) placed as a symbol subordinate to the main type.

The present agreement regulates the responsibility of the official who makes the alloy (κέρναν) of gold and silver generally known as electrum, but here called χρύσιον, of which the coinage consisted. He is responsible to his own government, being punishable with death in case of wilful adulteration. The coinage was to be issued alternately by each city. We may assume that the missing part of the agreement provided for the equality of exchange between the coinages of the two states. Outside Phokaian and Lesbian territory the coinage would be subject to discount. Thus we find the poet Persinos telling Eubulos, tyrant of Atarneus, whose court he had left for Mytilene, that he got better exchange for his Φωκαίδες in Mytilene than in Atarneus (Pollux, *Onom.* ix. 93). We have, in fact, in this convention an analogy to the Latin Union of our own days. For the coins in question see *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ionia*, Pl. iv, v, and *Troas*, &c., Pl. xxxi-xxxiv.

## 95 [74].

Treaty between Amyntas III (father of Philip) and  
the Chalkidians: B. C. 389-383.

A marble found at Olynthos, and now at Vienna. It is broken at the bottom, and inscribed on both sides (A and B), not στοιχηδόν. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* Pt. iii. no. 1406 (uncials only); H. Sauppe, *Inscr. Macedon. quattuor*, Weimar, 1847, p. 15; Swoboda, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* vii (1883), pp. 1-59; Michel, *Recueil*, 5; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 77; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 8; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 101, no. 107 (xxvii); O. Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.* iii. p. 8, no. 13.

## A.

Συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἐρριδαίου.  
Συνθήκαι Ἀμύνται τῷ Ἐρριδαίῳ

καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι· συμμάχους εἶν  
 ἀλλήλοισι κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπου[s]  
 5 ἔτεα πεντήκοιτα.

§ 1. *The alliance to be defensive.*

[ἐ]άν τις ἐπ' Ἀμύν-  
 ταν ἴηι ἐς τ[ὴν] χώραν ἐπὶ π[ο]λέμῳ  
 [ῆ] ἐπὶ Χαλ[κιδέας, βοηθεῖν] Χαλκιδέ-  
 [as] Ἀμ[ύνται καὶ Ἀμύνταν] Χαλκιδεῦσιν - - -]

B.

§ 2. *Regulation of export and import of shipbuilding materials.*

Ἐ[ξ]αγωγή δ' ἔστω καὶ πίσεως καὶ ξύλων  
 10 [ο]ικοδομιστηρίῳ πάντων, ναυπηγῇ-  
 [σ]ίμων δὲ πλὴν ἐλατίνων, ὅ τι ἂμ μὴ τὸ  
 κοινὸν δέχεται· τῷ δὲ κοινῷ καὶ τούτων  
 εἶν ἐξαγωγὴν, εἰπόντας Ἀμύνται πρὶν ἐξ-  
 ἀγειν, τελέοντας τὰ τέλεα τὰ γεγραμμέν[α].  
 15 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαγωγὴν δὲ εἶν καὶ δια-  
 (α)γωγὴν τελέουσιν τέλεα καὶ Χαλκιδεῦ-  
 σι ἐκγ Μακεδονίης καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐκ  
 Χαλκιδέων.

§ 3. *All allies to be in common.*

πρὸς Ἀμφιπολίτας, Βοττι-  
 αίους, Ἀκανθίους, Μενδαίους μὴ (π)[οιεί-  
 20 σθ]αι φιλίην Ἀμύνταμ μηδὲ Χαλκιδ[έας  
 χωρὶ](ς) ἑκατέρους ἀλλὰ μετὰ μιᾶ[s] γνώ-  
 μης ἐὰν ἀμφοτέροις δοκῇ κοιν[ῇ]  
 προσθέσθαι ἐκείνους.

§ 4. *Formula of oath.*

Ὁρκος συμμ[αχ]-  
 ῆς· φυλάξω τὰ συγκε[ί]μενα Χαλκιδ[εῦ]-  
 25 σι, καὶ ἐάν τις ἴηι ἐπ' Ἀμ[ύνταν] [- - - -  
 - - -, βοηθήσω Ἀμ[ύνται] - - -

The restorations are chiefly from Sauppe. The dialect is on the whole Ionic (cp. no. 125). εἶν in A l. 3, B ll. 5 and 7, is for εἶναι (cp. no. 142, l. 5). The authorities for Amyntas' reign are

Diod. xiv. 89. 92; xv. 19. 60; Xen. *Hellen.* v. 2-3; Isokrates, iv. (*Paneg.*) 126; vi. (*Archid.*) 46. Grote gives a spirited account of the rise and fall of the Olynthian confederation (ch. 76), but for the chronology see Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 1. 78; Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, ii<sup>3</sup>. pp. 7 foll.; Swoboda, *loc. cit.*, and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 223. The reign of Amyntas III (who is to be distinguished from the Amyntas, son of Archelaos, mentioned by Aristotle, *Pol.* viii. 10. 1311 b 14, who reigned from B. C. 392-390), was chequered with vicissitudes which show how far Makedon then was from being a secure or important power. His accession was in B. C. 389. It was probably early in his reign that he entered into alliance with the Olynthians, perhaps at the time when the Illyrian invasion, which in B. C. 383 drove him from his throne, was threatening. His object would be to obtain the help of Olynthos, and it was then presumably that he ceded to it the territory mentioned by Diodoros (xiv. 92. 3; xv. 19. 2). When he recovered his throne shortly afterwards he revenged himself on Olynthos, which had not only given him no help but probably actually annexed some of his territory (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 12 foll.). He was helped by Sparta (Diod. xv. 19. 3; Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 38; 3. 9). His alliance with Athens belongs to a later period (no. 107). The article of the treaty about timber, &c. reminds us that Southern Makedon, the Chalkidic peninsula, and Amphipolis were the chief sources whence Athens (*e.g.*) derived the timber for her dockyards. Cp. the following passages: Xen. *Hellen.* v. 2. 16, ξύλα ναυπηγῆσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, i. e. within the territory of the league; Thuk. iv. 108; when Makedon became mistress of these regions the Athenians were at a loss for timber, see Diod. xx. 46; Plut. *Demetr.* 10; Böckh, *Staatsh.* i.<sup>3</sup> pp. 317, 488. This treaty appears to be chiefly to the commercial advantage of the league. Probably however Amyntas would want to import more timber, &c. from Chalkidike, than the league would from Makedon. Amyntas gains the right to import as much timber (except pine) as he wants, unless the league have present need of it. The league are permitted similarly to import from Makedon, and even pine-timber upon giving prior notice to Amyntas. And also, since the Olynthian league as long as it lasted was



a powerful check upon Makedon, by the possession of the chief ports and avenues of trade between Makedon and the rest of Greece, it was a gain to Amyntas to secure a safe export, import, and transport of all goods through the Chalkidic ports (ἐξαγωγὴν καὶ διαγωγὴν). Neither party is to enter alone on friendly relations with those neighbouring states which have not at the time joined the Olynthian league (B, line 18).

## 96 [76].

**Negotiations between Athens and Klazomenai, just before the peace of Antalkidas: B. C. 387.**

Στοιχηδόν. Three fragments: A and B the first eight lines, C the rest. *G. I. A.* ii. 14 b (pp. 397, 423) and iv (2), p. 8; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 73; Michel, *Recueil*, 83; comp. Swoboda, *Mittheil. des Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, vii. (1882), pp. 174 foll.; Köhler, *ibid.* pp. 313 foll.; W. Judeich, *Kleinias. Stud.* p. 94, note 1.

*A. Decree moved by Poliagros.*

Θεόδοτος ἦρχε, Παράμυθος Φιλάγρου Ἐρχιεύς ἐγρ[αμμά]τε[υε.]  
Ἔδοξεν τῷ δή[μ]ῳ. Θεόδοτος ἦρχε, Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνε-  
υε, Παράμυθος ἐ[γ]ραμμάτευε, Δαΐφρων ἐπεστάτει. Πολί-  
αγρος εἶπεν.

§ 1. *Klazomenai to pay an εικοστή, and to settle its own difference with the exiles on the mainland.*

Ἐπαι[ν]έσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζομενί-  
5 ων, ὅτι πρόθυμός ἐσ[τι]ν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ]  
νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε[ν] χρόνῳ. Περὶ δὲ ὧν λέγουσι, δε[δ]-  
όχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· [ὑ]πα[ρ]έ[λ]ουσιν Κλαζομενίους τὴν ἐπὶ  
Θρασυβούλου εικοστὴν πε[ρὶ] σ[το]ν πονδῶγ καὶ ἀσπονδιῶν π-  
10 ρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Χυτῶι καὶ τῷ δμήρῳ, οὓς ἔχουσι Κ[λαζομ]-  
ομενίων, καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ (μ)ῆτε τ]-  
οὺς φεύγοντας κατὰγειν ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Κλαζόμε-  
νίῳ μῆτε τῷ μενόντῳ μηδ[έ]να ἐξαιρεῖν.

§ 2. *The question of garrisoning Klazomenai to be con- sidered immediately.*

περὶ δὲ ἀρχ[-  
οντος καὶ φρουρᾶς διαχειρο[τον]ῆσαι τὸν δῆμον αὐτ[ή]-

15 κα μάλα, εἴτε χρὴ καθιστάναι εἰς Κλαζομενὰς εἴτε αὐ]-  
τοκράτορα εἶναι περὶ τούτων [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζομε]-  
νίων, εἰάν τε βούληται ὑποδέχεσθαι εἰάν τε μῆ.

§ 3. *Further provisions as to import of food, &c.*

τῶν δὲ πό-

λεων, ὅθεν σιταγωγοῦνται Κλαζομ[ένιοι . . . . .  
. . . . Σ]μύρνης, εἶναι ἔνσπονδον αὐ[τοῖς ἐς τοὺς λιμένας  
20 εἰσπλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς [μετὰ . . . . . ἐπιμ-  
εληθῆναι ὅπω]ς ἔσονται σπονδα[ὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους Κλαζ-  
ομενίοις αἱ] αὐταὶ καὶ Ἀθηνα[ίοις.

B. *Vote of the Assembly.*

ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δ-

ῆμος αὐτοὺς τέ]λη οὐχ ὑποτελοῦ[ντας ἄλλα οὐδὲ φρουράν  
εἰσδεχομένους] οὐδὲ ἄρχοντα ὑ[ποδεχομένους ἐλευθέρου-  
25 σ εἶναι καθὰ Ἀθην]αίους. - - -

Shortly before the 'peace of Antalkidas,' in the year in which Thrasybulos was admiral (B. C. 390-389), the Athenians began to restore their empire by making alliances with various states such as Thasos (*C.I.A.* iv. 11 b, pp. 5, 6) and Klazomenai. The attempts were cut short by the peace, whereby the Asiatic Greek cities were summarily handed over to the Great King: Ἀραξέρεξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον (*Xen. Hellen.* v. 1. 31). Clinton, *ad ann.* 387, places the promulgation early in Theodotos' year, 'about autumn.' It was probably later in 387, if not in the beginning of 386 B.C. For the present inscription shows the state of war existing at least early in Theodotos' year, and the negotiations with Klazomenai are presumably anterior to Antalkidas' successes in the Hellespont (see no. 97).

A. § 1. The εἰκοστή, or tax of five per cent. on imports by sea, had been imposed by Athens instead of tribute in B.C. 413-412 (see *Thuk.* vii. 28. 4). Now when they attempt to revive their empire the Athenians resume this milder method of raising money.

The mention of οἱ ἀπὸ Χυτοῦ, ἐπὶ Χυτῷ, illustrates a passage from Ephoros cited by Steph. Byz. s. v. Χυτόν. χωρίον ἡπεῖρουν

"Εφορος ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ· Οἱ δ' ἐκ Κλαζομενῶν κατέκισαν τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ Χυτὸν καλούμενον. Cp. Arist. *Pol.* viii. (v.) ii. 12 (1303 b 9), Στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους, ὅταν μὴ εὐφύως ἔχῃ ἢ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ (*lege* Χυτῷ) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ.

§ 2. The present assembly is to decide whether Klazomenai shall be arbitrarily placed under an Athenian garrison, or whether the choice in this matter is to be left to Klazomenai. See B. For the *διαχειροτονία* see Wilhelm, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1900, pp. 526 foll.

§ 3. The treaty with Athens is not in any way (either by the *εἰκοστή* or otherwise) to interfere with the corn-supplies of Klazomenai. Ll. 20, 21: so Wilhelm. Dittenberger has τοὺς [ἀεὶ στρατηγούντας φ]ροντίσαι ὅπως κ.τ.λ.

B. The Assembly decides that Klazomenai is to pay no tribute other than the *εἰκοστή*, and is not to have an Athenian governor.

The restorations from line 18 onwards (due to Dittenberger) are highly conjectural, but seem to represent the general sense.

## 97 [75].

### Phanokritos of Parion rewarded for giving information of the enemy's fleet: B. C. 387-386.

Στοιχηδόν. The stone is in the Louvre. Büekh, *C. I. G.* 84, cp. p. 897; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 38, iv (2). p. 13; Kirchhoff, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Ak., hist. phil. Kl.* 1861, pp. 599 foll.; A. Schäfer, *Philol.* xvii (1861), p. 160; Froehner, *Inscr. Gr. du Louvr.* 100; Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 34 (1877), pp. 399-411; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 74; Michel, *Recueil*, 85.

*End of probouleuma (proposing pecuniary reward and εὐεργεσία to Phanokritos).*

..... ας ἔνεκα [παραδοῦ]ναι, ἐὰν κα-  
[ὶ τῷ]ε δῆμ[ω]ι δοκ[ῇ] καὶ τὴν εὐεργ[εσί]αν  
ἀναγράψ[αι ἐν στ]ῆλει λιθίνῃ ἐν [ἀ]κ-  
[ρ]οπόλει. κ[αλέ]σαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξέν[ι]-

5 α εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

*Decree of the people, moved by Kephalos by way of amendment: proxenia added.*

- Κέφαλος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [τ]-  
 ῆι βουλευῖ· ἀναγράφαι δὲ Φανόκριτο[ν]  
 τὸν Παριανὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὖεργ[έ]-  
 την αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους ἐν στή[λε]-  
 10 ι λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλε[ι  
 τ]ὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπειδὴ π[α]-  
 ρ]ήγγειλε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ [τῶν  
 ν]έων τοῦ παράπλου, καὶ εἰ οἱ στρατ[ηγο]-  
 ι] ἐπίθοντο, ἐάλωσαν ἂν α[ἰ] τρ[ι]ήρε[ι]ς  
 15 αἰ πολέμιαι· ἀντὶ τούτων εἶναι [κ]αὶ τ-  
 ῆν προξενίαν καὶ τὴν εὖεργεσί[αν κ]-  
 αἰ καλέσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τ[ὸ π]-  
 ρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον, με(ρ)ίσαι δὲ τ-  
 ὸ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰρημένον τοὺς ἀποδέ-  
 20 κτας ἐκ τῶν καταβαλλομένων χρημά-  
 [τ]ῶν ἐπειδὴν τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων μερ[ίσω]-  
 σι].

Böckh was inclined to refer this inscription to the time of the battle of Naxos, B. C. 376; but Kirchhoff observes that the writing is not later than B. C. 390-380. Phanokritos had given certain information to the Athenian generals which, if acted on, might have led to the capture of the enemy's ships. There is some probability in Foucart's view that the information related to Antalkidas' cunning evasion of Iphikrates, who was blockading Nikolochos in Abydos. Antalkidas went by land to Abydos and slipped out by night, spreading a false report that he was proceeding to Kalchedon. This would fix the event, and probably also the decree, to B. C. 387-386. Whatever the circumstances are, the council frame a *probouleuma* proposing the payment of a reward and the conferring of honours on Phanokritos as εὖεργέτης. In the ἐκκλησία an amendment is moved by Kephalos (the famous orator?), censuring the admirals for not acting upon the intelligence received. The *apodektai*, or 'Receivers general,' are to pay the sum as soon as funds become available, the regular disbursements provided for by the law having been first made.

For the sense of τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα, see Panske, *de Magistratibus Att. qui saec. a. Chr. IV. pecun. publ. curabant* (Leipziger Studien, 1890), p. 51. An inscription from the Akropolis (*C. I. A.* ii. 1165) reads: ὁ δῆμος | Φανόκριτον Φανοκλέους | Π[αριανὸν? ἀρε]τῆ[ς] ἔνεκεν, and may refer to our Phanokritos. Lines 3, 7, 10: the stone has λιθίνει, βουλεῖ. ΗΙ is frequently represented by ΕΙ in inscriptions from about 380 onwards to about 30 B.C., owing to the resemblance in pronunciation between the two diphthongs. See Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. attischen Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> pp. 38, 39. The present instance is one of the earliest extant.

## 98 [80].

## Treaty with Chios: B. C. 386.

Στοιχῆδόν. Put together out of various fragments. *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 9, no. 15 c, combined with *C. I. A.* ii. 15; Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ii. pp. 138 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 75; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* p. 115, no. 122 (xxx). Comp. W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 265, note 1.

(The beginning is lost).

- . ο - - - -  
ταῦτα με[. . . . . κο]  
ινῶν λόγων [. . . . .]ων τοῖς Ἑλλ-  
ησιν μέμνηται διαφυλάξει]ν καθάπερ  
5 Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν φιλίας  
καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ [τὰς οὖσας συνθήκας]  
ἃς ὤμοσεν βασιλεὺς[ς] καὶ ἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ]  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες],  
καὶ ἤκουσιν ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγ[γ]ελλόμενοι τῷ-  
10 ι δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων κα(ι) ἀπάσῃ τῇ [Ἐ]-  
λλάδι καὶ βασιλεῖ, [ἐψηφί]σθαι τῷ[ι] δῆμ-  
ῳ· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν τῶν Χί-  
ων καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις [τοὺς ἤκοντ]ας, ὑπάρχ-  
ε[ιν δ]ὲ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τοῦ[ς] ὅρκους καὶ τὰς  
15 σ[υνθήκ]ας [τ]ὰς νῦν οὖ[σας], συμμάχους δὲ ποι-  
εῖσ[θα]ι [Χί]ους ἐπ' ἐλευ[θε]ρίαι καὶ αὐτον-  
ομ[α]ι μὴ παραβαίνο[ντ]ας τῶν (ἐ)ν ταῖς σ-  
τήλαις γεγραμμένων [πε]ρὶ τῆς εἰρήνης

- μηδέν, μηδ' ἐάν τις ἄλλ[ο]ς παραβαίῃη πι-  
 20 ειθομένους κατὰ τὸ δυ[να]τόν· στήσαι δὲ σ-  
 τήλην ἐν ἀκροπόλει [πρό]σθεν τοῦ ἀγάλμ-  
 ατος, ἐς δὲ ταύτην ἀνα[γρ]άφειν, ἐάν τις ἴ-  
 ημι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, βοηθεῖν] Χίους παντὶ σθέ-  
 [νε]ι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, [καὶ ἐ]άν τις ἴημι [ἐπ-  
 25 ἰ Χί]ους, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίου[s] παντὶ σθέ[νε]ι  
 κατὰ τ]ὸ δυνατόν· ὁμόσα[ι δ]ὲ τοῖς [ἥκουσι-  
 ν Χίοις] μὲν τὴμ βουλὴν κ[αὶ] τοὺς [στρατηγ-  
 οὺς καὶ τα]ξίαρχους, ἐγ Χ[ί]ωι δὲ [τὴμ βουλὴν  
 καὶ τὰς ἄλλ]ας ἀρχάς· ἐ[λέσθαι δὲ πέντε  
 30 ἄνδρας, οὔτι]νες πλεῦ[σαντες] ἐς Χίον  
 ὀρκώσουσι τὴμ πόλιν. [ὑπάρχειν δὲ τὴν συμ-  
 μαχίαν ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα] χρόνον. καλέ-  
 σαι δὲ τὴμ πρεσβεία]ν τῶν Χ[ί]ων ἐπὶ ξέ-  
 νια ἐς τὸ πρυτανε]ῖον ἐς αὔριον. οἶδε ἡ-  
 35 ρέθησαν πρ[έ]σβεις· Κέφαλο[s] Κολλ-  
 υτεύς, - - - Ἀ[λ]ωπεκῆθεν, Αἰσιμο[s] . . ]  
 - - , - - s Φρεάριος, Δημοκλε[ίδης]  
 - - - οἶδε ἐπ[έ]σβευον Χίων· Βρύων, Ἀπε[ρ].  
 - - , - - κ[ρί]τος, Ἀρχέλας.

The insistence on the Peace with the Great King shown in this inscription proves that it was quite recent, and that the Athenians were anxious not to rouse the suspicions of Persia or Sparta by their new alliance. Nevertheless we have here the first step towards the new Athenian confederation. The Chians were among the first to join it. See nos. 100, 102: and cp. Isokr. xiv. *Plataic.* 28; viii. *de pace* 16: φημι δ' οὖν χρῆναι ποιέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ταύταις αἷς νῦν τινὲς γεγράφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γενο-  
 μέναις μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, προστατούσαις δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι κ.τ.λ. (written B. C. 356). Ll. 22, 23: the ἀγάλμα of Athena Promachos. On the second Athenian confederation (no. 101) in relation to the alliances preceding it, see Lipsius in *Berichte d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, pp. 145 foll.

## 99 [106].

## Alliance between Athens and Olynthos: B.C. 383.

On a fragment found on the Akropolis; only the top and right margins are preserved. Pittakis, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 3737; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 105; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 121, and Add. to vol. i. p. 642; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 200; cp. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* ii. p. 500, note 2; von Hartel, *Comm. Momms.* p. 533; G. F. Hill, *Class. Rev.* 1900, p. 279. Στοιχηδόν from l. 9 onwards.

[Ἐπὶ Διειτρέφους ἀρχ]ον[τος.  
 Συμμαχία Χαλ]κι[δ]έων τῶ[ν ἐ-  
 πὶ Θράκης τοῖς] ἐ[σ]περίοις.  
 [- - - -], Ν[ικ]όστρατος Θορ[ίκιος] νε[ῒ] -αιεύς,  
 5 - - - -], Φα[ί]ν[ι]ππος Ἀζηνι[εύς],  
 - - - -], Θρασυκλῆς Παλλην[εύς],  
 - - - -], Ἐρ[μ]ιππος Πόριος,  
 [- - - -], Ἀθηνίων Ἀ[ρ]α[φ]ήνιος.  
 [- - - ἰς ἐπρυτάν]ευε· [Κ]αλλιόδης ἐγ[ρα]-  
 10 μμάτευε· - - - Εὐων[υ]μεὺς ἐπεστάται· [. .  
 - - - εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν ἀπ]ολάβωσ[ι] τ[οὺ]-  
 ς ὄρκους κ.τ.λ.]

If the date here assigned to this much mutilated inscription is correct (for the grounds see *Class. Rev. loc. cit.*), we have in it a record of the treaty between Athens and Olynthos, for which we know that negotiations were being carried on in the spring of 383. At that time Olynthos was extending the bounds of her confederacy and endeavouring to force all her neighbours to throw in their lot with hers. The more reluctant of them, Akanthos and Apollonia, sent envoys to Sparta, insisting on the necessity of immediate action to put a stop to these encroachments. The crisis concerned Sparta intimately, for, as the Akanthian envoy Kleigenes said, κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἡκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἴη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας (*Xen. Hellen.* v. 2. 15). We have here then the list of ten commissioners (five of the names only are preserved) despatched from Athens to receive the oaths of the new allies. But the alliance with Athens did not save Olynthos from the disaster which

followed, when Sparta, after despatching four generals in succession against the confederation, extinguished it in B. C. 379.

## 100 [78].

The New Athenian Confederacy: Byzantion  
received: B. C. 378.

Στοιχηδόν. Two fragments, published by Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 19; *Hermes*, v. p. 10; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 79; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 127, no. 137 (xxxii).

- (α) - - - 'Αθην-  
α]ίων καὶ [νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρό]-  
σθεν χρόν[ωι ὄντες διατελ]-  
οῦσιν, ἐψηφ[ίσθαι τῷ δήμωι]  
5 εἶναι Βυζ[αντίους 'Αθηναίων]  
συμμάχους κ[αὶ τῶν ἄλλων συ]-  
μμάχων· τὴν [δὲ συμμαχίαν εἶ]-  
ναι αὐτ[οῖς καθάπερ Χίοις.  
δ]μόσα[ι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλή]-  
10 ν] καὶ [τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς  
ἐπ[άρχους - - - .
- (β) - - - [καλέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσ-  
βεις τῶν Βυζ]αν[τίων ἐπὶ ξέν-  
ια] ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς [αὔρ]-  
ιον. ἀναγ(ρ)άψαι δὲ τὴν σ[τήλ]-  
15 ην τὸν γραμ(μ)ατέα τῆς βουλ[ῆς].  
Οἷδε ἠιρέθησαν πρέσβεις·  
'Ορθόβουλος ἐκ Κεραμέω[ν]·  
'Εξηκεστίδης Παλληνεύς·  
Ξενόδοκος 'Αχαρνεύς·  
20 Πύρρανδρος 'Αναφλύστιος·  
'Αλκίμαχος 'Αγγεληθεύς.  
Οἷδε ἐπρέσβευον Βυζαντ[ί]-  
ων· Κύδων, Μενέστρατος,  
'Ηγήμων, 'Εστιαῖος,  
25 Φιλίνος.

The date is a little earlier than no. 101; the still more fragmentary inscription *C. I. A.* ii. 18 is perhaps a treaty of the



same date with Mytilene (Diod. xv. 28. 29). Cp. Grote, ch. 77; Isokr. xiv. *Plat.* 27. 28. The Byzantines were, though not the first (see l. 6), yet among the first to join the new confederacy. The restorations given of lines 7-10 are those conjectured by Dittenberger, who notes that the Chians are mentioned first on the list of allies in no. 101, and compares l. 24 of that inscription. Some of the envoys are well known. Orthobulos was hipparch of Akamantis at the battle of Haliartos (Lysias, xvi. *pro Mant.* 13). Exekestides may be the mover of the decree no. 123. Pyrrhandros is named in no. 101, § 7, as one of the envoys sent to Thebes: this is referred to by Aischines (*in Otes.* 139), who says  $\xi\tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\ \nu\upsilon\nu\ \zeta\eta$ , in B. C. 330, so that he lived to a great age; cp. no. 102, l. 7. Kydon the Byzantine is also known to us as one of those who contrived the surrender of Byzantion to Alkibiades and the Athenians in B. C. 409-408 (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 3. 18). When Lysandros regained the town after Aigospotamoi, Kydon fled to Athens and received the citizenship (*ib.* ii. 2. 1). He must have returned to his native place after the restoration of the democracy there by Thrasybulos in 390-389 (*ib.* iv. 8. 27), and now undertakes this mission in the Athenian interest.

## 101 [81].

## Formation of the New Athenian Confederacy: B. C. 377.

Στοιχηδόν. A large stèle at Athens, put together out of twenty fragments. Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 381, 381<sup>b</sup>; Meier, *Commentatio epigr.* i. pp. 3 foll., ii. pp. 53 foll.; Köhler, *C. I. A. ii.* 17 and iv (2), p. 10; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 80; Michel, *Recueil*, 86; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 129, no. 138 (xxxii). Comp. Fabricius, *Rh. Mus.* 46 (1891), pp. 589 foll.; J. Zingerle, *Erasm. Vindob.* 1893, p. 364; H. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894), pp. 321 foll.; W. Judeich, *Kleinias. Stud.* pp. 266, 308; J. Lipsius in *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, pp. 145 foll. Lines 12-14 were anciently erased.

Ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἄρχοντος.

Καλλίβιος Κηφισοφώντος

Παιανιδὲς ἐγραμμάτευεν.

Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος ἐβδ[όμης] πρυτα-

5 νείας· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τ[ῷ] δήμῳ-

- ι· Χαρίνος Ἀθμον[εὺς ἐ]πεστάτει·  
 Ἀριστοτέλης εἵ[πε· τύχ]ῃ ἀγαθῇ τῇι Ἀ-  
 θηναίων καὶ [τ]ῶν [συμμ]άχων τῶν Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν, ὅπως ἂν Λα[κε]δ[αιμό]νιοι ἐῷσι τοὺς Ἑλλη-  
 10 νας ἐλευθ[ε]ρο[ς] καὶ αὐτονόμους ἡσυχίαν  
 ἄγειν τῇ[ν] χώραν] ἔχοντας ἐμ βεβαίῳ τῇ-  
 [ν] ἑαυτῶν . . . . .]ικ . . . . . οσ . . . . . ηι . . . . . αι  
 . . . . . α  
 . . . . . απ . . . σ . . . ε . σ . . . . . ωσ . ν  
 15 [. . . . . § 1. ἐψηφί]σθαι τῷι δήμῳ, ἐάν τις βούλ-  
 [ηται τῶν Ἑλ]λήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν  
 [ῆπείρῳ ἐν]οικούντων ἢ τῶν νησιωτῶν, ὅσ-  
 [οι μὴ βασι]λέως εἰσίν, Ἀθηναίων σύμμαχ-  
 [ος εἶναι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεῖναι αἵ]τ[ι]-  
 20 ῶ[ι ἐλευθέρ]ῳ ὄντι καὶ αὐτονόμῳ, πολι-  
 τ[ενομέν]ῳ πολιτείαν ἣν ἂν βούληται, μή-  
 τε [φρουρ]ὰν εἰσδεχομένῳ μήτε ἄρχοντα  
 ὑπο[δεχ]ομένῳ μήτε φόρον φέρουσι, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷσπερ Χίοι καὶ Θηβαῖ-  
 25 οὶ κα[ὶ] οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. § 2. τοῖς δὲ ποιησ-  
 αμέν[οις] συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 τοὺς συ[μμ]άχους ἀφείναι τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἐγκ-  
 τήματα ὁ[π]όσ' ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὄν[τα ἢ ἴδι]α [ἢ δ]-  
 ημόσια Ἀθ[η]ναίων ἐν τῇι χ[ώ]ρῳ τῶν ποιοῦν-  
 30 μένων τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ περὶ τούτων π[ι]-  
 λιστιν δοῦναι [Ἀθηναίους· ἐὰν δὲ τυγ]χάν[η]-  
 ι τῶν πόλεων [τῶν ποιοισμένων τ]ὴν συμμαχ-  
 ῖαν πρὸς Ἀθην[αίους] στῇ[λαι] οὔσαι Ἀθήνησ-  
 ι ἀνεπιτήδειοι, τ[ῇ]μ βουλῇν τὴν αἰὶ βουλε-  
 35 ῦουσιν κυρίαν εἶν[αι] καθαιρεῖν· [ἀ]πὸ δὲ Ν-  
 αυσινίκου ἄρχοντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε ἰδ-  
 ῖαι μήτε δημοσ[ί]λαι Ἀθηναίων μηθενὶ ἐγ-  
 κτήσασθαι ἐν τ[α]ῖς τῶν συμμάχων χώραι-  
 s μήτε οἰκίαν μήτε χωρίον μήτε πριαμέ-  
 40 νωι μήτε ὑποθε[μ]ένῳι μήτε ἄλλῳ τρόπω-  
 ι μηθενί· ἐὰν δὲ τις ὠνήται ἢ κτᾶται ἢ τί-  
 θηται τρόπῳ ὁτιοῦν, ἐξεῖναι τῷι βουλο-  
 μένῳ τῶν συμμάχων φῆναι πρὸς τοὺς συν-  
 ἔδρους τῶν συμμάχων· οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι ἀπο-

- 45 [δ]όμενοι ἀποδόντων [τὸ μὲν ἦ] μυσυ τῶ[ι] φήναι, τὸ δὲ ἄ-  
[λλο κοί]νον [ἔστ]ω τῶν συ[μμ]άχων. § 3. ἐὰν δέ τι-  
ς [ἦ] ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ τ[οῦ]ς ποιησαμένους  
τὴν συμμαχίαν ἢ κατὰ [γῆ]ν ἢ κατὰ θάλαττα-  
αν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς  
50 τούτοις καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττα-  
ν παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. § 4. ἐὰν δέ τι-  
ς εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἡ[δ]ιωτή-  
ς παρὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ὥς λύειν τι δεῖ τ-  
ῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι εἰρημέν[ων, ὅ]-  
55 παρχέτω μ[ὲν] αὐτῷ ἀτίμῳ εἶναι καὶ [τὰ  
χρ]ήμα[τα αὐτ]οῦ δημόσια ἔστω καὶ τῆς [θεοῦ  
τ]οῦ ἐπιδ[έκα]τον καὶ κρινέσθω ἐν Ἀθην[αί-  
ο]ις καὶ τ[οῖς] συμμαχοῖς ὥς διαλύων τῇ[ν]  
συμμαχίαν, § 5. ἡμιούτων δὲ αὐτὸν θανάτω-  
60 ι ἢ φυγῇ οὐ[περ] Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι  
κρατοῦσι[ν]. ἐὰν δὲ θανάτου τιμῇ, μὴ τα-  
φῇτω ἐν τῇ[ν] Ἀττι[κῇ] μ[ὴ]δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν συμ-  
μάχων. § 5. τὸ δ[ὲ] ψήφισμα τὸδε ὁ γραμματεὺς  
ὁ τῆς βουλῆ[ς] ἀναγρ[άψα]τω ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
65 νη καὶ καταθ[έτω] παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευ-  
θέριον· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γύ]ριον δοῦναι εἰς τὴν ἀν-  
αγραφὴν τῆς στ[ήλ]ης ἐξήκοντα δραχμας  
ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλ[άν]των τοὺς ταμίαις τῆς θε-  
οῦ. § 6. εἰς δὲ τὴν στήλ[ην] ταύτην ἀναγρά-  
70 φειν τῶν τε οὐσ[ῶ]ν πόλεων συμμαχίδων τ-  
ὰ ὀνόματα καὶ [ἦ]τις ἂν ἄλλη σύμμαχος γί-  
(γ)νηται. § 7. ταῦτα [μ]ὲν ἀναγράψαι, ἐλέσθαι δ-  
ὲ τὸν δῆμον πρέσβεις τρεῖς αὐτίκα μάλ-  
[α] εἰς Θήβας, [ο]ἵτινες πείσουσι Θεβαίους ὃ  
75 [τ]ι ἂν δ[ύ]νωνται ἀγαθόν. οἷδε ἡιρέθησαν·  
[Α]ριστοτέλης Μαραθώνιος. Πύρρανδρο-  
ς Ἀναφλύστ[ιος]· Θρασύβουλος Κολλυτεύς.

§ 8. *List of the allies* (inscribed in more than one hand):—

Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἷδε σύμμαχοι.

Χίοι, Τενέδιοι	Θηβαῖοι
80 Μυτιλη[ν]αῖοι	Χαλκιδῆς
[Μ]ηθυ[μν]αῖοι	Ἐρετριῆς

Ῥόδιοι, Ποιήσσιοι	Ἀρεθούσιοι
Βυζάντιοι	Καρύστιοι
Περλινθιοι	Ἴκιοι
85 Πεπαρήθιοι	Παλλ - - -
Σκιάθιοι	- - -
Μαρωνίται	- - -
Διῆς	- - -
Πάρ[ι]οι, Ὀ - - - -	- - -
90 Ἀθην[ι]ται, Π - - - -	- - -

§ 9 contains the beginning of another decree proposed by the same Aristoteles. § 10. On the left side of the slab the names of the confederate cities are continued as follows:—

[Κερκυ]ραίων | [ὁ δῆ]μος, | [Ἀβδη]ρίται, | [Θάσ]ιοι, | [Χαλκι]δης |  
 ἀπὸ [Θράκι]ς, | Αἴνιοι, | Σαμόθραι[ες], | Δικαιοπολίται, ||  
 10 Ἀκαρνᾶνες, | Κεφαλλήνων | Πρώννοι, | Ἀλκέτας, | Νεοπτόλεμος, |  
 20 [Ἰάσω]ν, | Ἀνδριοι, | [Τή]νιοι, | [Ἐσ]τιαίης, | Μυ[κ]όνιοι, || Ἀντισ-  
 σαῖοι, | Ἐρέσιοι, | Ἀστραιούσιοι, | Κέϊων | Ἰουλιῆται, | Καρθαιεῖς, |  
 30 Κορήσιοι, | Ἐλαιούσιοι, | Ἀμόργιοι, | Σηλυμβριανοί, || Σίφνιοι, |  
 Σικυνῆται, | Διείς | ἀπὸ Θράκις, | Νεοπολίται, | Ζακυν[θ]ίων | ὁ  
 δῆμος | ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλ[ω]ι.

For a fuller treatment see Busolt, *Der zweite Athenische Bund* (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, Suppl. vii. 1873-5, pp. 641-866); A. Schäfer, *De sociis Atheniensium Chabriae et Timothei aetate, &c.* Lips. 1856; Gilbert, *Gr. Const. Antiq.* pp. 435 foll. But for the most part Diod. xv. 28-30, and Holm, *Hist. Gr.* iii. ch. vii. will suffice. We will note a few minor points. § 1. The chief object of the confederacy is the delivery of the Greeks from the Spartan supremacy. The qualification of ὅσοι μὴ βασιλέως εἰσὶν is intended to avoid a suspicion of infringement of the peace of Antalkidas. For the Chians see nos. 98, 100. The Thebans became allies of Athens in B.C. 378; for the date at which they joined the κοινὸν συνέδριον (which existed before the organization of the new confederacy by this decree) see below under § 8. The provisions in § 2, directed against any approach to the system of κληρουχίαι, are well discussed by Grote (ch. 77). But it should be noted that while Diodoros uses the term κληρουχίαι, the decree has the less special word ἐγκτήματα. There were no Athenian kleruchies

(in the old sense) at this time. § 3. The alliance is defensive only. § 4. From the phrase ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις it does not follow that there was a joint court; the competence of the allies was probably restricted to offenders in their own territory. (See Lipsius, *loc. cit.* p. 155.) § 5. The statue of Zeus Eleutherios was in the Kerameikos; see Pausan. i. 3. 1, who mentions statues of Konon, Timotheos, and Euagoras the Kyprian, at the same spot. Thirty drachmai was the usual cost of inscribing a decree: but this is a long one, and names were to be added from time to time. On this reserve fund of ten talents see p. 222. § 6. The list is given below. § 7. For Pyrrhandros see no. 100; Thrasybulos, namesake and comrade of the liberator, is mentioned by Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 26, as commanding the fleet, and by Dem. *de Cor.* p. 301, as an orator of mark; cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 23; Dem. xxiv. *in Timocr.* 134; Aischin. iii. (*in Ctes.*) 138. § 8. *The list of confederates.* Köhler held that the names of the Chians, Mytilenaians, Methymnaians, Rhodians, and Byzantines were inscribed in the same hand with the preceding decree, while the Thebans were entered by a second hand, which also inscribed the Tenedians, Chalkidians, Eretrians, Poiessians, Arethusians, Karystians. Fabricius, on the other hand, ascribes the Thebans to the first group; and Lipsius (supported by Wilhelm) agrees with him. There is a further difference as to the Ikians, Köhler placing them in a third, Fabricius in the second group. In the third group all agree in placing the Perinthians, Peparethians, Skiathians, Maronitai, Dieis; Köhler adds the Παλλ . . . Diod. xv. 28 says: πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χίοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι, μετὰ τούτους Ῥόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς νησιωτῶν. Since Köhler seems to have been mistaken as to the Thebans, we must add them to the list of original members; in ll. 23 foll. their position is mentioned as typical, and Diodoros mentions them in a very early stage of the proceedings. Thebes, which had been in alliance with Athens itself since spring 378, therefore joined the κοινὸν συνέδριον before the organization of the Confederacy by this decree. The embassy in § 7 must refer to some other matter; perhaps the Thebans were already showing themselves unwilling to abide by the terms of the confederacy. The rest

of the confederates' names were added afterwards, as the alliance extended. Thus Abdera joined after the battle of Naxos (Diod. xv. 36). Similarly Hestiaia comes low down in the list: see Diod. xv. 30. Also the three towns of Keos, Iulis, Karthaia, Koressos are separated from the fourth, viz. Ποιήσσιοι. The δῆμος of Zakynthos, apparently established outside of the city in a Zakynthian mountain called Nellos, and the δῆμος of Korkyra, in a similar position, are enrolled as allies of Athens, like the 'Samian δῆμος' of the old confederacy. The Korkyraian democrats probably approached Athens before the expedition of Timotheos, which settled the quarrel between democrats and aristocrats in favour of the former. After that expedition Athens received Korkyraians, Akarnanians and Kephallenians in a combined treaty, preserved in no. 105. In the interval, thanks to the expedition of Chabrias, Abdera, Thasos and other Thracian cities had come in. These were inscribed on the stone just after Κερκυραίων ὁ δῆμος. When subsequently Korkyra as a whole with Akarnania and Kephallenia joined the alliance, it was not deemed necessary to repeat the name of Korkyra. Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2. 2, and Diod. xv. 45, tell us of Timotheos' dealings with the Zakynthian factions: see Grote, ch. 77. Alketas and Neoptolemos (§ 10, lines 13, 14) were the king of the Molossoi and his son. Neoptolemos succeeded his father, dividing the kingdom with his brother Arybbas (see no. 144); and his daughter Olympias was the mother of Alexander the Great. Iason of Pherai, whose name probably followed in line 14, was overlord of Alketas (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 1. 7), and the two are called allies in B. C. 373 (Dem. xlix. *contr. Timoth.* 10, 22). The erasure of the name points to his early defection. Observe that no cities of Asia Minor are here enrolled: the 'peace of Antalkidas' had left them in the hands of the Great King (§ 1), until Alexander freed them. A number of names are broken away in ll. 85 foll., e. g. probably Naxos. It is clear from this document that Diodoros' estimate is true enough (xv. 30): τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς συμμαχίαν συνέβησαν ἑβδομήκοντα πόλεις.

## 102 [79].

## Alliance between Athens and Chalkis in Euboeia : B. C. 377.

Στοιχῆδόν. A stele discovered near the Dionysiac theatre : Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 17 b, p. 398 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 81 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 87 ; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 136, no. 141 (xxxv). Comp. Héek, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1878, p. 479 ; Busolt, *Der zweite Athen. Bund* (*Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, Suppl. vii. 1873-5), pp. 744 foll.

[Αρ]ιστοτέλης Εὐφιλήτου

[Αχ]αρνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευ[ν].

[Ἐπ]ὶ Ναυσινίκου ἄρχοντος.

- [Ἐδο]ξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Λεωντῖς  
 5 ἐπρωτ[ά]νευεν, Ἀριστοτέλης ἐγραμμάτευ-  
 [εν, τῶν π]ροέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Παντάρετο-  
 [ς . . . .]ιεύς· Πύρραυδρος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν λ-  
 [έγουσιν] οἱ Χαλκιδῆς, προσαγ[α]γέω αὐτοὺς π-  
 [ρὸς τὸν δ]ῆμον ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, γ-  
 10 [νώμην] δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς ὅ[τι] δο-  
 [κεῖ τῇ] βουλῇ δέχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχί[α]ν π-  
 [αρὰ τῷγ] Χαλκιδ[έ]ω[ν] τύχη ἀγαθῇ καθὰ ἐπ-  
 αγγ[έλλον]τα[ι οἱ] Χαλκιδῆς· ὁμόσαι δὲ τ[ῇ]ν  
 15 πόλιν Χαλκιδεῦσιν καὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας [Ἄ]-  
 θηναί[οις] καὶ ἀν[α]γράφαι ἐ' στήλῃ λιθί[ν]-  
 ηι καὶ στῆσαι Ἀθή[ν]ησι μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλ[ει,  
 ἐν [δὲ Χαλ]κίδι ἐν τ[ῷ] ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίας [τ-  
 ὸν ὄρκον] καὶ [τὰς συνθήκας· εἶναι δὲ συνθ-  
 ήκας Ἀθηναί[οις] καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσιν τάσ[δε·  
 20 συμμαχί]α Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐ[β]οίαι [καὶ  
 Ἀθηναί]ων· ἔχειν τῇ[ν] ἐαυτῶν Χαλκιδέ[ας ἐλ-  
 ευθέρ]ους ὄντα[ς καὶ] αὐτονόμους καὶ . . . .  
 . . . . . ἢ μήτε φρουρὰν ὑποδεχομένους [παρ']  
 Ἀθηναίων μήτε φόρον φέροντας μήτε [ἀρχ-  
 25 οντα παραδ]εχομένους παρὰ τὰ δόγματ[α τῶ-  
 ν συμμαχ]ῶν· ἐὰν δέ τις [ἤ]τις [ἢ] π[ῶ]ς πο[λ]έμ[ω]ι ἐπ-  
 ῖ τὴν χώραν - - -]

Compare the earlier inscription no. 100. See Diod. xv. 30, πρῶται δὲ καὶ προθυμότατα συνεμάχησαν αἱ κατὰ τὴν Εὐβοίαν οἰκοῦσαι, χωρὶς Ἑστίας; this was after the passing of the

decree about the formation of the confederacy (no. 101). On the stone recording that decree the names of the Euboian cities (lines 80 foll.) were added at a date subsequent to the inscribing of the decree itself and in a different hand. For the mover of this decree, see no. 100. It is interesting to refer to the earlier settlement of Chalkis in B.C. 446: no. 40. Ll. 22-23: [αὐτοσπόνδου]s (?) Wilhelm; [ἀφορολογήτου]s Dittenberger. Possibly κα[θάπερ Ἀθηναίου]s; cp. no. 96, l. 25.

## 103.

## Methymna admitted to the Confederacy: B.C. 377.

On a marble slab found on the Akropolis at Athens. Στοιχηδόν from L. 5. Mylonas, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), p. 138, no. 6; Lolling, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. z. Berlin*, 1888, p. 243; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 10, no. 18 b; Michel, *Recueil*, 88; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 82; W. Judeich, *Kleinias. Stud.* 269; E. Szanto, *Mittl. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xvi. p. 30, note 2; A. Wilhelm, *ib.* xvii. p. 191, no. 2; H. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* xlix. p. 342; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 135, no. 140 (xxxiv); H. Sauppe, *Ausgewählte Schr.* (1896), p. 807.

- [Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι - -  
 . . ἵς ἐπρυτ]άνευεν, Καλ[λ . . . . . Ἀλω]-  
 πεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν, Σιμω[ν . . . . .]-  
 ιος ἐπεστάτει· Ἀστύφιλος εἶπεν· περὶ  
 ὧν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐπειδ-  
 5 ἡ σύμ(μ)αχοὶ εἰσιν καὶ εὖνοι τῇ πόλῃ-  
 ι τῇ Ἀθηναίων Μηθυμναῖοι, ὅπως ἂν  
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους τοὺς Ἀθ-  
 ηναίων ἦι αὐτοῖς ἡ συμμαχία, ἀναγρ-  
 ἀψαι αὐτοὺς τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ-  
 10 ς, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἀναγ-  
 εγραμμένοι εἰσίν· ὁμόσαι δὲ τὴν πρ-  
 εσβείαν τῶν Μηθυμναίων τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ὄρκον, ὅμπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι  
 ὥμοσαν, τοῖς τε συνέδροις τῶν συμμ-  
 15 άχων καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς  
 ἱππάρχοις. ὁμόσαι δὲ τοῖς Μηθυμνα-  
 ῖοις τοὺς τε συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχω[ν]  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἱππάρχου-  
 ς κατὰ ταῦτά. ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ Αἰ[σι]-



20 μου καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν [νε]-  
 ῶν ὅπως ἂν ὁμόσωσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ Μ[ηθ]-  
 υμναίων καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι].  
 ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τῇμ πόλιν τὴν Μηθυμν-  
 αίων καὶ καλέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν  
 25 Μηθυμναίων ἐπὶ ξένια.

At the time of the foundation of the new confederacy, the Methymnaians were already in alliance with Athens; they now send ambassadors asking to be put on the list of the confederacy (no. 101). This must have been very early in the history of the confederacy (see no. 101, note on § 8). We see from lines 20, 21 that the representatives of the confederacy were sailing about the Aegæan swearing in the allies. The formality of swearing had to be gone through three times, by the envoys of the State seeking admission (lines 12 foll.), by the synedrion, with which were combined the representatives of Athens (line 17), and finally by the magistrates of the new ally (line 21).

### 104 [82].

#### Accounts of the Athenian Commissioners of the Delian Temple funds, from B. C. 377 to B. C. 373.

The 'Sandwich' marble (in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where it has been re-read), combined with a fragment at Athens (lines 41-109). *Στοιχειδόν*. See *C. I. G.* 158; *C. I. A.* ii. 814 and 814 b; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 86, and Add. p. 641; Michel, *Recueil*, 577. Comp. Böckh, *Staatshaush.* 2 ii. pp. 68 foll.; Lebègue, *Recherches sur Délos*, p. 295; Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii (1884), p. 290; V. de Schoeffer, *de Delh ins. rebus*, pp. 54 foll.

Some account has been given on nos. 50 and 76 of the relations between Athens and Delos. The formation of the Delian confederacy under Athens, and the placing of the common funds in the temple, had tended to subordinate the religious interests of Delos to the political. The transference of the treasury to Athens in B. C. 454 (no. 33) would still further diminish its prestige: so that amid the troubles of the Peloponnesian war, though the Athenians and the islanders still continued to send their *θεωπλαί*, in B. C. 426 the splendour of the festival had dwindled almost to nothing (see Thuk. iii. 104). In 426 the

Athenians re-established the Delian festival, and the magnificent *θεωπία* of Nikias (Plut. *Nic.* 3) belonged to the second or third celebration. Henceforward the Athenians undertook the direct management of the temple and its treasures. If we are right in concluding from no. 83 that after Aigospotamoi the Athenians were for a time dispossessed, we may hazard the conjecture that their influence in Delos was restored (not without some opposition, as this inscription testifies) at the formation of the New Athenian Confederacy in B.C. 378-7. The Delian Commissioners were called *Ἀμφικτύονες*, because *in theory* they were the deputies *τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν* (Thuk. *loc. cit.*) to whom the festival pertained from olden times. The great festival took place on the sixth and seventh of Thargelion (May) in the third year of each Olympiad: a lesser festival took place yearly. (See however A. Mommsen, in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1886, pp. 329 foll.) The financial term dated from one great festival to another, and this inscription accordingly gave the accounts of the four years in which Kalleas, Charisandros, Hippodamas, and Sokratides were archons, i. e. B. C. 377-376 to 374-373 (see § 8). The following paraphrase will explain the heading § 1: 'In the name of the gods. Sums called in by the Athenian Amphiktyons (i. e. Delos-Commissioners) from Kalleas' archonship down to Thargelion in Hippodamas' year (—according to Attic reckoning, but in Delian reckoning, from Epigenes' archonship down to Thargelion in Hippias' year—) during the term for which the Amphiktyons held office; their secretary being Diodoros, son of Olympiodoros of Skambonidai; (the Amphiktyons being) Idiotes, son of Theogenes of Acharnai, during Charisandros archonship, down to the commencement in Hekatombaion of Hippodamas' archonship; Sosigenes, son of Sosiades of Xypetè, during the year of Kalleas' archonship; Epigenes, son of Metagenes of Koilè, Antimachos, son of Euthynomos of Marathon, Epikrates, son of Menestratos of Pallene.'

Thus during this period of three years there were always four Amphiktyons in office with their secretary Diodoros. In the first year (377-376) they were Sosigenes, Epigenes, Antimachos, Epikrates; in the next year, Sosigenes was replaced by Idiotes, who held office until the beginning

of the year of Hippodamas (July B. C. 375); in B. C. 374-373 the number was raised to five, Nikomenes and another (l. 60) coming on. Five Amphikytos and a secretary are mentioned in another inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* viii (1884), p. 294, no. 7), and that seems to have been the normal number after the first few years. The board of Amphikytos appointed in 377-376, since they do not refer to any earlier board, were presumably the first after the re-acquisition by Athens of the government of the Delian temple (which, as we have said, probably took place in B. C. 378-377 when the new confederacy was organized). After this board had served for three years the administration was reorganized. The accounts for these three years, or rather two years and a part of the third, are therefore given together.

§ 1. *Heading.* [Θ]εο[ί]. | Τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέου ἄρχοντος μέχρι τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, | ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένους ἄρχοντος μέχρι τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς || τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰππίου ἄρχοντος, χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἤρχεν, οἷς Διοδωρος Ὀλυμπιοδωρον Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἀπὸ Χαρισάνδρου ἄρχοντος Ἰδιώτης Θεογένους Ἀχαρνέως μέχρι τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος, Σωσιγένης Σωσιάδου Ἑυπεταίων ἐνιαυτὸν 10 ἐπὶ Καλλέου ἄρχοντος· Ἐπιγένης [s M]εταγένης ἐκ Κολλῆς, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμου Μαραθῶνιος, Ἐ[π]ικρά[τη]ς Μενεστράτου Π[α]ληνεύς.

§ 2. *Interest paid by cities on loans borrowed from the Temple:—*

Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τ[οῦ] τόκου ἀπέδο[σ]αν·

Μυκόνιοι ΧΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>Δ

Σύριοι ΧΧΗΗΗ

Τήνιοι Τ

Κεῖοι [<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ]Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ<sup>Π</sup>Η<sup>Π</sup>Η<sup>Π</sup>Η<sup>Π</sup>

Σερφιοι Χ<sup>Π</sup>Η

Σίφνιοι | ΧΧΧΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΔ<sup>Π</sup>Η<sup>Π</sup>

Ἰῆται <sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗ

[Πάριοι] ΧΧ<sup>Π</sup>ΗΗΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ

Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου Χ|ΧΧΧ

Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου ΗΗΗ[Η]

15 [Κε]φάλαιον τόκου παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ΤΤΤ||[Τ]ΧΧΧ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗΗ<sup>Δ</sup> Δ  
 ΔΔΔ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗ<sup>Δ</sup> .

The cities are all from the neighbouring islands: on loans from temple funds, see no. 62.

§ 3. *Interest similarly paid by individuals (cities of Delos and Tenos):—*

Οὔ[δ]ε τῶν ἰδιω(τῶ)ν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τόκου ἀπέδωσαν·  
 'Αρίστω[ν] Δήλιος ὑπὲρ 'Απολλοδώρου Δηλίου <sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗΗ  
 'Α[ρ]γυσ[τ]έ[λ]εως Δήλιος ὑπὲρ | Γλανκέτου Δηλίου <sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗ  
 'Υψοκλέης Δήλιος ΗΗΗ  
 'Αγασ[τ]έ[λ]εως Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Θεοκύδους Δηλίου ΗΗΔ[ΔΓ]  
 Θεόγνητος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ 'Υψοκλέους Δηλί[ου] <sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗΔ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗ  
 20 'Αντίπατρος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ 'Υψοκλέους Δηλίου ΗΗ<sup>Δ</sup>ΔΔΓ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗ  
 Πολυ . . . . s Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Μ . . . μένους Τηνίου ΗΗΗΗ  
 Λευκῖνος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Κλειτάρχου Δηλίου <sup>Γ</sup>Η[Η . . ΔΔ]Δ  
 Λεωφῶν Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Πιστοξέ|νου Δηλίου ΗΗΗ<sup>Δ</sup>  
 Πατροκλέης [Δήλ]ιος ὑπὲρ 'Υψοκλέους Δηλίου ΗΗΗ  
 'Αρισ[τ]είδης Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδου Τηνίου ΗΗΔ  
 [Κε]φάλαιον τόκου παρὰ τῶν ἰ[δ]ιωτῶν<sup>2</sup> <sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗΔΔΓ

§ 4. *Other miscellaneous receipts:—*

25 Εἰσεπράχθη μηνυθὲν ἐκ τῶν 'Επισθένους Δηλίου ΗΗ||[Η]<sup>Δ</sup>ΔΔΔ  
 Εἰσεπράχθη μηνυθ[ε]ν παρὰ Πύθωνος Δηλίου ΧΗ(?)  
 'Εκ τῶν ἐνεχ[ύρ]ω[ν] τῶν ὠφληκότων τὰς δικά[s], τιμῆς κε[φ]άλαιον  
 Χ<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ  
 Μισθ[ώ]σεις τεμενῶν ἐξ 'Ρηνείας ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων 'Αθήνησι Χαρι-  
 σάνδρου, 'Ιππ[ο]δάμαντος, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαίου, 'Ιπ[π]ίου  
 ΤΤΧΗΗ[Δ]Δ  
 Μισθ[ώ]σεις τεμενῶν ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ΧΧΗΗΗ  
 Η<sup>Δ</sup>ΔΔΔ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗ  
 30 Οἰκῶν μισθ[ώ]σεις ἐπὶ 'Ιπποδάμαντος ἀρχοντος 'Αθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ  
 δὲ 'Ιππίου ΗΗ<sup>Δ</sup>[Δ]ΔΔΔΓ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗ  
 Λήμματος κεφάλαιον <sup>Γ</sup>ΤΤΤΧΧΧ<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΔΔΔΔ|<sup>Γ</sup>ΗΗΗ<sup>Δ</sup> .

Μηνυθέν is part of a confiscated estate which was concealed by the offender and afterwards claimed by the magistrates upon information given: see §§ 15, 16. 'Ενέχυρα are

<sup>1</sup> ΙΔΙΩΝ on the stone.

<sup>2</sup> The numerals on this stone are occasionally somewhat uncertain.



§ 8. *The board of Athenians and Andrians for B.C. 374-373*:— [Τάδε ἔ]πραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ Σκιροφοριῶνος μηνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰπ[ποδάμ]αντος ἄρχοντος μέχρι Σωκρατίδ[ου] ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλ[ω]ι δὲ ἀπὸ Πανήμου μηνὸς μέχρι Πυρραλίδ[ου] ἄρχοντος, οἷς Διδώωρος Ὀλ[υμπι]οδώρου Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγράμ-  
 60 ματευ[εν], Ἀθηναίων . . . . . || . . . ]δου Ὁῆθεν, Νικο-  
 μέ[ν]ης Ἰ[ε]ρωνος Ἀλα[ιεύς], Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένους ἐκ Κολ[ί]λης,  
 Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμου Μαραθῶνιος, Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτου  
 Παλλ[ηνεύς], Ἀνδρίων Δαμάλης Δαμάλου, [. . . . .  
 . . . . .] . Λε[ωγορίδ]ου, Θεοτέλης Ἀνδροκρίτου, Με - - - ]

§ 9. *Income from rents*:—

[μισθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν ἐ[ξ] Ῥηνέ[ι]ας· ΤΗΗΗΗ - - -  
 65 [μισθώσεις τεμενῶν ἐγ || Δήλου] ΧΓΓΔΔΤΤ  
 μ[ι]σθώσεις οἰκ[ι]ῶν· ΗΗΠΔΔ[ΔΔΓΤΤ]  
 [λ]ήμματος κεφάλαιον ΤΧΧΧΔΤΤ

§ 10. *Expenditure*:—ἀπὸ [τούτου τόδε ἀνηλώθη]

[εἰς ἱερὰ τ]ὰ κ[ατὰ] μῆνα καὶ μουσικῆς ἄθλα καὶ γυμ[ν] . . . . .  
 . . . . . | . κ]αὶ σαλπικτεῖ καὶ κήρυκι καὶ τῶι  
 ὑ . . . . . | . . κο . Χ(Π)ΗΠΔΔΤΤ  
 70 ||||C

τὸ τευχίον ἀνοίκο]δομ[ῆσαι τὸ . . . . . || . . ]η καὶ εἰς  
 ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ἐπιστασίου [κα]ὶ τοῦ α[ . . . . . καὶ εἰς |  
 ἀν]άθεσ[σιν] τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ εἰς τὰς σ . . . . . ἰδας [καὶ . . .  
 . . . . . τ[οῖς] ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τ[ῆς] βουλῆς· ἐν . .  
 . . . . . | . . ων· ΠΠ

Ἀμφικτύοσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ὰ π[ι]τῆδ[ει]α καὶ γραμματεῖ καὶ  
 ὑπ[ο]γραμματεῖ ΧΧΠΠΗΠΓΤΤΤ

75 Ἀμφικτ[ύ]οσιν Ἀνδ[ρίων] εἰς τὰ π[ι]τῆδ[ει]α· ΧΧ]Η  
 κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος· ΤΧΗΔΔΠΤΤΤΤΤ|||C |  
 κεφάλαιον τοῦ περιόντος σὺν τ[ῶ]ι ]ἐκ τοῦ προ[τέρου] λόγου·  
 ΤΠΠΗΗΗΠΔ[ΤΤ]

§ 11. (Ll. 77 foll.) *Sums lent out at interest*:—[Ἀπὸ τ]οῦτου τοῖσδε ἐδανείσαμεν Δηλίων ἐ[π]ὶ τα[ῖς] αὐταῖς συνθήκαι[s], καθάπ[ερ] οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ [ἐ]ρα χρήματ[α] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου δεδανε[ι]-  
 80 σμένοι εἰσίν, . ΧΧΧ· τοῦτο ὀφείλου[σιν] δανειστ[αί] - - - (a mutilated list of names, &c.).

The remainder of the inscription gives the arrears of interest, &c., for the whole quadriennium.

§ 12. *Further sums which ought to have been paid by certain cities as interest due,—a portion only having been paid* (see § 2) :—

110 Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τοῦ τό[κ]ου, ὃν ἔδει αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας |  
ἀρχῆς ἀποδοῦναι, [ἐ]νέλιπο[ν], καὶ οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τῶν τεττάρω|ν  
ἐτῶν.

Κεῖοι XXXXHΔΔΓΓΓΓC  
Μυκόνιοι HHHHΔΔ  
Σύριοι XXX|X<sup>Π</sup>HHHH  
Σίφνιοι XX<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓH  
Τήνιοι XXHHHH  
Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου HHHH  
Πάριοι TTTTXX<sup>Π</sup>HHHΔΔΔ  
115 Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου || T<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ

§ 13. *Arrears of interest owed by cities which paid no portion of their interest during the four years :—*

Αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
ἀρχῆς τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι | Καλλέου, Χαρι-  
σάνδρον, Ἴπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδου, ἐν Δήλῳ | δὲ Ἐπιγένους,  
Γαλαίου, Ἰππίου, Πυρραίθου.

Νάξιοι TXXX<sup>Π</sup>H  
Ἀνδ|ριοι TT  
Καρύστιοι TXXHHHH

(after this comes an erasure of eleven spaces, where stood the name of a city which paid its arrears immediately after the stone was cut).

§ 14. *Arrears of interest not paid by individuals :—*

120 Οἶδε τῶν ἰδιω|τῶν τὸν τόκον οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
ἀρχῆς τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέου, Χαρισάν-  
δρου, Ἴπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδου, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἐπιγένους, Γαλαί|ου,  
Ἰππίου, Πυρραίθου.

Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀρίστωνος Δή[λι]ος HHHH

Ἀγ|ακλῆς Ὑψοκλέους Τήνιος HH . .

125 Εὐφραίνετος Εὐφ[ά]ντου Δή||λιος HΔ

Ἀλκμεωνίδης Θρασυ . . . ου Ἀθηναῖος <sup>Π</sup>Δ

Γλαύκιππος Κλειτάρχου Δήλιος HHHHΔ

. . . ων Καρύστιος HH

Σκυλλί|as Ἀνδριος ΗΗ  
 Ὑψοκλής Θεο[γνή]του Δήλιος ΗΗΗΗ  
 Πριανεύ|ς Σύριος Γαλήσσιος ΔΔΔΔΠΤ  
 . . . . . κλείδης Θρασυννά(δ)ου | Δήλιος ΠΠΤ  
 Ἀβρων Θράσωνος Σ[φήτ]τιος ΗΗΠΔΔΔ  
 130 Λάχης Λάχ||ητος Στειριεύς ΠΗΗ  
 . μαισι . . . . Νυμφοδώρου Δήλιος ΗΔΔ|ΔΔ  
 Θράσων Ἀρρωνος Σφήττιο[s . . .]  
 [Α]ριστηίδης Δεινομέ|ους Τήμιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδου (τοῦ) Κλεο . . .  
 [Τ]ηνίου ΗΗΔ|

§ 15. *Fines inflicted but not yet paid* :—

Οὔδε ὤφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας [ἐπὶ Χ]αρισάνδρου ἀρχοντος |  
 Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαίον. τ[ίμημα] τὸ [ἐ]πιγε[γ]ραμμένον ||  
 135 [κ]αὶ ἀειφυγία, ὅτι [κ]α[λ] | ἐκ τοῦ ἱερ[οῦ] τοῦ Ἀ]πόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου  
 ἦ|γον τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοντας καὶ ἔτυπτον. Ἐ]πιγένης Πολυκράτου|ς  
 Μ. Πύρραιθος Ἀντιγόνου Μ. Πατρο[κλέ]ης Ἐπισθένους Μ. | (*Here*  
*a name is erased*). Ἀριστοφῶν Λ[ευκί]ππου Μ. Ἀντιφῶν  
 Τύννω[ν]ος Μ. [Ο]δοιτέλης Ἀντιγ[ό]νου Μ. Τηλ[εφάν]ης Πολυάρ-  
 κους Μ. ||

In the second year of the quadriennium, eight (?) Delians had been fined 10,000 dr. each (τίμημα), as is appended to their names (τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον, i.e. M), and sentenced to perpetual banishment, for dragging the Amphiktyons out of the temple and assaulting them. One of the names is erased, leaving seven. Of these, two bear the names of the Delian archons of the first and fourth years—Epigenes and Pyrrhaitchos. Doubtless they are the selfsame men. But how could Pyrrhaitchos be elected archon at Delos after the sentence of ἀειφυγία? Quite well: for Delos was not a part of Attic territory or of the confederation, to which alone the ἀειφυγία would refer; and what more likely than that the patriotic party at Delos should select as their archon a man who had even violently challenged the Athenian occupation of the temple? For the Delians resented it bitterly, and repeatedly claimed the restoration of their rights, as the Δηλιακοὶ λόγοι of several of the orators (written in defence of the Athenian occupation) prove (see Hypereides, *Frag.* xiii). How long after the time of Demosthenes the Delians



remained deprived of their temple we do not know. Von Schöffer (pp. 87 foll.) is inclined to date the restoration as late as B. C. 308-307. In B. C. 166 the Romans made over Delos again to Athens (Polyb. xxx. 18; xxxii. 17; see however Lebègue, p. 305). Its devastation under Mithradates is recorded by Pausan. iii. 23. 3.

§ 16. *List of houses dedicated to Apollo:—*

- 140 Οἰκ[ίαι] ἐν Δῇ[λῳ] ἱεραὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τ[ὸ]υ Δηλίου. Οἰκία  
ἐν Κολῳ[νῳ], ἥ ἦν Εὐ[φάν]του, ἥ γείτων Ἀλεξός· | [τὰ] κεραμεῖα,  
ἃ ἦν Εὐφά[ν]του, ο[ἱ]ς γείτων τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ Ἀρ[ίσ]τωνος ἐμ-  
πεδίῳ· οἰκία, ἥ ἦν Λευκί[π]που, ἥ γείτων Ἀγ[ησ]ί[λαος]· οἰκία,  
145 ἥ ἦν Ἐπισθ[έ]νου[s], ἥ[ι] γείτων ἡ δ[ιδό]ς· χαλκείον, δ ἡ[ν] Λευκίπ-  
που, ὧ γείτων . . . . . δεῶν οἰκήματα· οἰκία | . . . . .  
. . . . . [ο]ικία, ἥ ἦν Ἐπισθένου[s], ἥ γείτων  
- - - αἱ ἦσαν Λευκίππου, αἷς γεί[των] - - - γείτω οἰκήμ[α]τα  
- - - ἃ ἦν Εὐ[φ]άντου - - -

These are no doubt confiscated properties. Some of the names are the same as in § 15. Οἰκία is a dwelling-house, οἶκημα a building. Χαλκείον is a bronze foundry. The Delian bronze was famous (Pliny, *N. H.* xxiv. 2).

# 105 [83].

## The Korkyraians, Akarnanians, and Kephallenians join the Alliance : B. C. 375.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *G. I. A.* ii. 49 and iv (2), p. 13; Lolling, *Δελτ. ἀρχ.* 1888, p. 174; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 83; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 138, no. 143 (xxxvii) A. Comp. A. Schäfer, *De Sociis Athenensium*, &c., p. 12.

- [Φ]ιλοκλή[s] Ω[ - - - - - ] ἐγγραμμάτευεν.  
Ἐπὶ Ἱπποδάμ[α]τος ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος δ-  
ευτέρως πρυτανείας, ἥ Φιλοκλή[s] Ω[ . . . . . ]  
. ἐγγραμ(μ)άτευε· ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κρ[ίτ]-  
5 ι[ος] εἶπε· περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ· οἱ π[ρ]όσβ[ει]-  
ς τῶν Κερκυραίων καὶ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν Κεφα[λ]-  
λήνων, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τ[οὺς] π[ρ]όσβεις Κερκυραίων [κ]α-  
ὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Κεφα[λ]λήνων, ὅτι εἰσὶ ἀνδρες ἀγα[θ]-  
οὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους [κ]-  
10 αὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ· ὅπως δ' ἂν πραχθῇ[ι]

- ὦν δέονται, προσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γν[ώ]μ[η]-  
 ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς [βουλῆς, ὅτι δοκεῖ] τῇ βουλή-  
 ι ἀνα[γ]ράφαι τῶν πόλεων τ[ῶν] ἡκουσῶν τὰ δῖνάματα [ἐ]ς  
 τὴν στήλην τὴν κοινὴν τῶ[ν] συμμαχῶν τὸν] γραμμα[τ]έ-  
 15 α τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀποδοῦνα[ι τοὺς ὅρκους τα]ῖς πόλε[σι]  
 ταῖς ἡκούσαις τὴν βουλήν [καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς (?) καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ἱππέας, καὶ τοὺς συμμαχ[ους] ὁμνῦναι τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρ]-  
 κον· πραχθέντων δὲ τούτ[ων] . . . . . καθ' ὃ  
 τι ἂν δόξει τῷ κοινῷ [τῶν συμμαχῶν, πέμψαι τοὺς ἀπ]-  
 20 οληφομένους τοὺς ὅρκους [. . . . . ἀνα]-  
 γραφῇ[σομέν]ους εἰς τ[ὴν] στήλην τὴν κοινὴν οὗ οἱ σύμ]-  
 μαχοι ἐ[γγ]εγραμ[μ]ένοι εἰσίν· π[έ]μψαι δὲ καὶ συνέδρου]-  
 ς τῶν πό[λ]εων ἐκάστην ἐς τὸ συνέδριον τῶς συμμαχῶ-  
 ν] κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶς συμμαχῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθην-  
 25 αῖων· περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σκέψασθαι κοινῇ μετ-  
 ᾶ Αἰσχύλου [καὶ] Εὐ[α]ρχου καὶ Εὐρυ[- - καὶ - -  
 . . ο]ς καὶ [. . . . . καὶ Ῥ]ησιδά[δου] - - -

So Köhler and, in the main, Dittenberger. Lolling has:—

- τοὺς συμμαχ[ους] οἵτινες ὤμοσαν τὸν ὅρ]-  
 κον, πραχθέντων δὲ τούτ[ων] τοῦ λοιποῦ κύριον εἶναι ὃ  
 τι ἂν δόξει τῷ κοινῷ, [ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τοὺς ἀπ]-  
 20 οληφομένους τοὺς ὅρκους [παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τοὺς καὶ ἀνα]-  
 γραφῇ[σομέ]νους εἰς τὴν στή[λην] τὴν κοινὴν οὗ οἱ σύμ]-  
 μαχοι ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν, κ.τ.λ.

Wilhelm makes the very probable suggestion that another secretary's name (Φύλακος - - - Οἰναῖος, see *C. I. A.* iv (2) 49c) may be restored in l. 3, and that Philokles' name stands at the head because he was secretary at the time when several decrees were inscribed, like Kephisophon in no. 81 (above p. 165).

This decree dates from the autumn of B. C. 375, immediately after Timotheos' visit to Korkyra (*Xen. Hellen.* v. 4. 64). The result of this decree was that the names of Kephallenia and Akarnania were inscribed upon the list (no. 101); that of the Korkyraian demos had already been inscribed (see above, p. 196). An alliance was made with them, of which the treaty with Korkyra is extant (no. 106).

The Akarnanians, after the alliance they concluded with Athens at the opening of the Peloponnesian war (Thuk. ii. 68), were among the staunchest of the Athenian allies, with the exception of one town (Thuk. ii. 102, *Ολνιάδας αἰεί ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνάνων*, cp. i. 111). Their personal affection for the Athenian general Phormion is testified to by Thuk. ii. 81 foll., 102 foll.; iii. 7 (cp. no. 149). Not less cordial were their relations with Demosthenes (Thuk. iii. 94 foll., 107 foll.). So on the Athenian side in the Syrakusan expedition (Thuk. vii. 57), καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων τινὲς ἅμα μὲν κέρδει, τὸ δὲ πλεόν Δημοσθένους φίλᾳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίᾳ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐπεκούρησαν. Again they fought for Athens in the Korinthian war (Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 2. 17; cp. iv. 6. 1 foll.). In B.C. 389 Agesilaos forced them into alliance with Sparta (Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 7. 1; *Ages.* 2. 20). Our inscription records their return to their old allies, accompanied by Korkyra and Kephallenia.

The following epitaph, found in the Kerameikos, may refer to these negotiations (*C. I. A.* ii. 1678; *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, p. 28; Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 37).

Ἐνθάδε Θέρσανδρον καὶ Σιμύλον, ἄνδρε ποθινῶ  
πατρίδι Κερκύραι, δέξατο γαῖα τάφῳ  
πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας, κατὰ συντυχίαν δὲ θανόντας,  
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων δημοσίοι κτέρισαν.

## 106.

## Alliance between Athens and Korkyra: B.C. 375-374.

On a slab of marble found between the Theatre of Dionysos and the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Στοιχηδόν. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xiii (1889), p. 354; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv. (2), p. 14, no. 49 b; Michel, *Recueil*, 9; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 84; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 139, no. 143 (xxxvii) B. Comp. Swoboda, *Rh. Mus.* 49, pp. 339 foll.

Συμμαχία Κορκυραίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ε[λ]ς  
τὸν [ἀεὶ] χρόνον. Ἐάν τις ἴηι [ἐπὶ] πολέμῳ ε-  
[λ]ς τ[ῇ] γ[ὰρ] χώραν τῇ Κορ[κυ]ραίων ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆ-  
[μ]ον τὸν Κορκυραίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους π-  
5 αὐτὶ σθένει, καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Κο-  
ρκυραῖοι, κατὰ τὸ [δ]ν[α]τόν· καὶ ἔάν τις ἐπ-  
ὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ γ[ὰρ] χώραν

τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἔη ἢ κατὰ γῆν  
 ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, βοηθεῖν Κορκυραίους π[α]-  
 10 ντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καθ' ὃ τι ἂν [έ]π-  
 αγγέλλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. π[ο]λ[ε]μ[ο]ν δὲ καὶ εἰ-  
 ρήνην μὴ ἐξεῖναι Κ[ορκυρ]αίοις ποιήσασ-  
 θαι [ἄ]νευ Ἀ[θηναίων] καὶ [τοῦ π]λήθους τῶν σ-  
 υμμάχων· ποιεῖν δὲ κα[ὶ] τᾶλλα κατὰ τὰ δόγ-  
 15 ματα τῶν συμμάχων. Ὁρκος·

*Oath of the Athenians [and the Allies?].*

Βοηθήσω Κορκυραίων τῷ [δῆ]μῳ παντὶ σθ-  
 ἐνει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ἕαν [τ]ις ἔη ἐπὶ πολ-  
 ἔμῳ ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θά[λα]τταν ἐπὶ τῇ χ-  
 ῶραν τῇ Κορκυραίων καθ' [ὃ] τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλ-  
 20 λωσι Κορκυραῖοι, καὶ περὶ πολέμον καὶ ε-  
 ἱρήνης πράξω καθ' ὃ τι ἂν τῷ πλήθει τῶν σ-  
 υμμάχων δοκῇ, καὶ τᾶλλα ποιήσω κατὰ [τὰ  
 δό]γματα τῶν συμμάχων. [πο]λ[ε]μ[ο]ν ταῦτα νῆ τὸ-  
 [ν] Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα· [ε]ὐο-  
 25 [ρ]κοῦντι μέμ μοι εἴη πο[λλ]ὰ καὶ ἀγ[α]θά, εἰ δὲ  
 μή, τἀναντία.

*Korkyraian Oath.*

[Βοηθήσω Ἀθη]ναίων τῷ [δῆ]μῳ [παν]τὶ σθ[ένει]  
 κατὰ τὸ δυ[ν]ατὸν αἱ κά τις [ἐπί]η ἐπὶ πο-  
 λέμῳ ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ [θ]άλασσ[αν] ἐπὶ τὰν  
 30 χῶραν τὰν Ἀθη]ναίων καθ' ὃ τι κ' ἐπαγ[γέ]λλω-  
 [ντι Ἀθηναῖ]οι, καὶ περὶ πολέμ[ο]ν κ[αὶ] εἰρ[ή]-  
 [νης] πράξω καθ' ὃ τ[ι] κ[αὶ] Ἀ[θη]ναῖο[ι]ς κ[αὶ] [τῷ] π[ο]-  
 [λ]ήθει τῶν συμμάχων [δο]κῇ κ[αὶ] τᾶ[λλ]α ποι-  
 [ήσω] κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ Ἀθηνα[ί]ων κα[ὶ] τῷ  
 35 [συμμάχων] ποιήσω ταῦτα ν[ῆ] τὸν Δία [κα]ὶ  
 [τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὰν Δά]ματ[ρα]· εὖορ[κ]έο[ν]-  
 [τι μέμ μοι εἴη πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά,] εἰ δὲ μή, [τὰ-  
 ναντία].

For the negotiations which led to this alliance, see the preceding inscription. The mention of possible enemies of the *demos* of the Korkyraians (where we should have expected simply ἐπὶ Κορκυραίους) is explained by the fact that Korkyra

was at this time divided by factions, of which the popular one was in power and made the alliance with Athens. The similar phrase in line 6 referring to the Athenians may be due to symmetry, or to the still lingering fear of the anti-democratic party. Cp. nos. 119, 123. But these are standing formulae in alliances.

## 107 [77].

## Alliance between Athens and Amyntas III: shortly before B. C. 370.

Two fragments found near the Dionysiac Theatre. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. no. 15 b, pp. 397, 423; iv (2), p. 9; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 78. Comp. Swoboda, *Aich.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, vii. pp. 36 foll.

- . . . . . ἄνδρ]ας οἵτ[ινες ἀπολήψονται τ-  
 οὺς] ὅρ[κους π]αρά 'Αμύ[ντου καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου κ-  
 αὶ] ἐπιμελήσουτα[ι τῆς ἀναγραφῆς καὶ  
 τῆς στήλης, ὅπως δ[ὲ] ν τέλος ἔχηι τὰ ἐψηφ-  
 5 ισ]μένα τῷ δήμῳ· ἐ[π]αινέσαι δ[ὲ] 'Αμύντ-  
 αυ] καὶ τοὺς πρέσβε[ις] τοὺς ἐλθόντ[ας πα-  
 ρ'] αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖο[ν κ]αὶ 'Α[ν]τήν(ο)ρα κ[αὶ . . .]-  
 σωνα· ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ κ]αὶ τοὺς πρέσβε[ις]  
 τοὺς πεμφθέν[τας ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰς M[ακ]-  
 10 εδονίαν περὶ τ[ῆς συ]μ(μ)αχίας· δοῦναι δ[ὲ]  
 το[ῖς] πρέσβεσ[ιν τοῖς] αἰρεθείσιν εἰ[s]  
 [ἐφ]όδια ΔΔ ὀρ[αχμὰς ἐ]κάστωι τὸν ταμί[α-  
 ν τ]οῦ δήμου· κ[αὶ καλέσ]αι ἐπὶ ξένια τοῦ[s]  
 πρέ[σβεις] [τοὺς παρ' 'Αμ]ύντου καὶ τοὺς π[ε-  
 15 μφθέν]τα[s ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰς  
 [τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὖρ]ιον.

Appended in two columns were the names of those who swore to the treaty on the part of Athens and of Amyntas; only a fragment remains. . . . [Φύλα]ρχοι (or [Ἴππα]ρχοι) | . . . . κλη[ς] 'Ερχι(εύς), | [Δημοχ]άρης Παια(νιεύς). | ['Αμύντα]ς 'Αρριδαίου |, ['Αλέξανδ]ρος 'Αμύντου.

This alliance belongs to a somewhat later date than the treaty commemorated in no. 95, as is shown by the fact that Alexandros (the eldest son of Amyntas III, and afterwards king from 370-369 to 368 B. C.) was now old enough to

figure beside his father. Possibly the alliance belongs to the time of Timotheos' expedition to Thrace in B.C. 373. Swoboda suggests also that the Ptolemaios of our inscription is identical with the murderer of Alexandros II.

## 108 [84].

## Honours from Athens to Dionysios I of Syrakuse:

B. C. 369-368.

Στοιχῆδόν. C. I. G. 85 b and c (i. pp. 897, 899), from a copy by Fauvel, when the stone was better preserved. C. I. A. ii. 51; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 89; Michel, *Recueil*, 90. Comp. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. pp. 13 foll.; W. Hartel, *Demosth. Stud. (Wiener Sitzungsber. lxxxviii. 1878, pp. 409 foll.)*; Höck, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1883, pp. 516 foll.; A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, iv. p. 204; A. Wilhelm, *Erans Vindob.* p. 245, note 3; R. Schöll, *Münch. Sitzungsber.* 1886, 123².

[Ἐπὶ Λ]υσιστράτου ἀρχοντος, ἐπὶ [τῆ]ς Ἐ[ρεχ-  
θηίδ]ος δεκάτης προτανείας [ῆ]ι Ἐξή[κε-  
στος Πα]υ[ωνίδου] Ἀζηνιεύς ἐγραμμάτε[υεν]  
τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή[φι]ζε Εὐάγγελ[ος] . .

5 line obliterated.

. Πάν]διος εἶπεν· περὶ ᾧν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ [πα-  
ρὰ] Διονυσίου ἤκου[τε]ς λέγουσι[ν], δεδ[όχθ]-  
αι τῇ]ι βουλῇ· περὶ μὲν τῶν γραμμάτ[ων] ᾧ-  
ν ἔπε]νψεν Διονύσιος τ[ῆ]ς οἱ[κ]οδομ[ίας] τ-  
10 οὔ]νε καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τοὺς συμμάχ[ους] δ-  
όγμ]α ἐξενε[γ]κε[ῖ]ν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὃ [τι ἂν α-  
ὐτο]ῖς βουλευομένοις δοκῇ ἀρί[στον] ε-  
ἶνα]ι· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις [εἰς  
τὸν] δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτ[ην] ἐκκλησί[αν] προ-  
15 οσκ]αλέσαντας τοὺς συμμάχους [τοὺς προ-  
οέδ]ρους, [καὶ] χρηματίζειν περὶ ᾧν λέγουσ-  
ιν, γνώμ[η]ν δ[ὲ] ξ[υμβάλλεσθ]αι τῆς β[ουλῆς]  
ἐς τ]ὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ]ι βουλ[ῇ]· ἐπαι-  
νέσ]αι μὲν Διονύσιον τὸ[ν] Σικελ[ίας] ἀρχ-  
20 οντ]α κα[ὶ] τοὺς υἱεῖς τοὺς [Δι]ονυσίου, Διο-  
νύ[σιον] καὶ Ἑρμόκριτον, ὅτι εἴ[σιν] ἀνδρ-  
ες] ἀγαθοὶ [περὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀ[θηναίων]  
καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ βοηθοῦσιν τῇ

βασ]υλέως εἰρήνῃ ἦν ἐποίησα[ντο Ἀθηνα-  
 25 ῖοι] καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι] κ[α]ὶ [οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλ-  
 ληνες]· καὶ Διονυσίῳ μὲν ἀπο[πέμψαι τὸ-  
 ν στέφ]ανον ὃν ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δ[ῆμος, στεφα-  
 νῶσαι δὲ τοὺς] ὑεῖς τοὺς Διονυσί[ου χρυσῶ-  
 ι στεφάνῳι ἐ]κάτερον ἀπὸ χ[ιλίων δραχμ-  
 30 ῶν ἀνδραγαθί]ας [ἐ]νε[κα κ]αὶ [φιλίας· εἴνα-  
 ι δὲ Διονύσι]ον καὶ το[ὺ]ς ὑε[ῖς αὐτοῦ Ἀθην-  
 αῖους αὐτοὺς] καὶ ἐκγόνους, [καὶ φυλῆς κα-  
 ῖ δήμου καὶ φ]ρατρίας ἧ[ς] ἂν [βούλωνται. τοὺ-  
 ς δὲ πρυτάνε]ις [τοῦ]ς [τ]ῆ[ς Ἑρεχθίδος δοῦ-  
 35 ναι τὴν ψήφον πε]ρὶ αὐτῶν - - -

Dionysios the elder had all along been a faithful, though not very active, ally of Sparta (see Lysias, xix. *de bonis Ar.* § 20; Xen. *Hellen.* v. i. 26-28; Diod. xv. 23. 47; Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2. 4. 33; Diod. xvi. 57). The attempt made by Athens in B. C. 394-393 (no. 91) to win Dionysios to their side had not been at all successful. But after the important congress of B. C. 371 (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3), when Athens and Sparta became allied against Thebes, Dionysios was reconciled to Athens (Xen. *Hellen.* vii. i. 20. 28; Diod. xv. 70); and at the Lenaia B. C. 367 he gained the first prize for his Tragedy *Λύτρα* "Εκτορος, having previously stood second and third (Clinton, *F. H.* ad ann.). This decree and the next following make an important addition to our scanty knowledge of the transactions briefly spoken of by Xen. *Hellen.* vii. i. 27-28; Diod. xv. 70 (cp. Grote, ch. 79; Holm, iii. ch. 9). The second expedition of Epameinondas into the Peloponnese took place in B. C. 369, when the Spartans received assistance not only from the Athenians but also from Dionysios. Probably the crown mentioned in l. 27 was voted at that time. The decree before us was passed in the early summer of B. C. 368. At this same season Ariobarzanes' envoy Philiskos, acting in the name of the Great King, on the strength of the peace of Antalkidas, convened the congress at Delphoi with a view to a general peace, perhaps at the suggestion of Athens (Grote and Holm, *ibid.*). Little or nothing came of it, as the Spartans stoutly demanded that they should have Messene restored to them. Xenophon names the

Athenians and Spartans, and their allies, and the Thebans, as represented at the congress, but says nothing of Dionysios. It is clear, however, from this decree that he was an important agent in these proceedings. Without believing the statement of Ephoros (quoted by the Schol. on Aristeides, *Panath.* 177. 20—who confuses Dionysios I and II) that Dionysios was in league with the Persians against the liberties of Greece—which represents the diplomatic gossip of the time—we may yet believe that he was very willing to enlarge his own influence by acting with the Persians as a mediator between the contending Greek states.

The following points in the decree require comment. Line 2: for the secretary's name cp. *C. I. A.* iv (2), 768 b (A), line 18. Line 5 foll.; Dionysios was sending envoys to the Delphian congress; he also sends envoys and a letter to Athens, recommending peace. The temple referred to is that of Apollo at Delphoi, which is generally supposed to have been destroyed by earthquake in 373 B. C. (See, however, Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hellen.*, 1896, pp. 691 foll.) Just as it was a foremost provision of the treaties of 423 and 421 B. C. (Thuk. iv. 118, v. 18) that the Delphian temple should be neutral, so here in the negotiations for a general peace, it seems to be suggested that each state shall contribute to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphoi, as a pledge of *bona fides* in the movement for peace; cp. too Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 4. 2. Lines 9–16: the synod of the allies convened at Athens is to consider Dionysios' suggestions, and report thereon to the *δῆμος*. The *βουλή* further frames this *προβούλευμα* to be submitted to the *δῆμος* without delay, the deputies of the allies and the envoys of Dionysios being also invited to the *ἐκκλησία*. (For a discussion of the procedure see von Hartel and Höck *loc. cit.*) Lines 16 foll.: the Athenians praise Dionysios for his zeal in maintaining the provisions of the peace of Antalkidas (*τῇ βασιλέως εἰρήνῃ*), and grant him and his sons the freedom of their city (cp. Demosth. xii. *Phil. Epist.* 10). The decree of the *people*, approving this *προβούλευμα*, is lost, if indeed it was ever inscribed; but unless a *probouleuma* was amended, there was no need to inscribe the decree confirming it.



## 109 [85].

Honours to Mytilene for fidelity to Athens: B. C. 369-368  
and 368-367.

Kumanudes, *Ἀθην.* v. p. 94; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. pp. 400 foll., no. 52 c; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 91; Michel, *Recueil*, 89. Comp. Hück, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1878, pp. 474 foll.; Szanto, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiv (1889), p. 147; Schöll, *Der Process des Pheidias* (Münch. Sitzungsber. 1888), p. 46, note 1; Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 272; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1898, p. 220.

§ A. Decree of the council and people, B. C. 368:—

[Θ]εοί.

[Μυτ]ιληναίων.

[Ναυσικ]λένης ἦρχεν, Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυ-  
[τάνευε]ν, Μόσχος Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἐ-  
5 [γραμμά]τευν, Ἀρίστυλλος Ἐρχι-  
εὺς ἐπεστ]άτει.

[Ἐδο]ξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·

Σ[τ]έφα[νο]ς [εἰ]πεν· [π]ερὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐκ Λέσβου ἤκου-  
τ[ες] λέ-

[γο]υσιν, [ἐψηφ]ίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ, προσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆ-  
10 [μον τοὺς] προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρῶ[τη]-  
ν ἐκκλησίαν, γνώμην δὲ ξυββάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς [τὸν]  
δῆμο-

ν ὅ[τι] δοκῇ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπ[ε]δῆ Μυτιληναῖοι ἄνδρες [ἀγαθοί ε-  
ἰσι] π[ε]ρ[ὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ] νῦν κ[α]ὶ ἐν τῷ [πρό-  
σθεν χ-

ρόνῳ], ἐ[π]α(ι)νέσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸμ Μυτιληναίων ἀρε[τ]ῆς ἔ[νεκ]α  
[π-

15 ἐρὶ τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ εἶναι πρόσσο[δον] αὐτοῖς ἐάν του  
δέωνται πρὸς τῇ[ν] βουλῇ ἢ τὸν δῆμον πρῶ[τοις] μετ[ὰ] τὰ ἱε[ρ]ά·  
ἐπαινέσ[αι] δὲ καὶ Ἱερο[ῖ]ταν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περ[ὶ] τ[ὸν]  
δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν Μυτ[ι]ληναίων. ἀναγράψαι δ[ὲ]  
τ[ὸ]δ-

[ε τὸ ψή]φ[ισμα] τὸν γραμματέα τῆς [βου]λ[ῆς] ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ-  
20 [ι καὶ σ]τήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. [ἀν]αγράψαι δὲ κ[αὶ] τ[ὸ] ψήφ[ι]-  
[σμα] ε-

[ἰς τὴν ἀντήν στήλην ὃ ἀπε[κρ]ίνατο ὁ δῆμος τοῖς πρέσβεσι  
 [τοῖς Μυτιληναίω] το[ῖς] μετὰ [Ἱε]ροίτ[α (viz. the decree  
 appended below.) εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφ-  
 ἦν δοῦναι τῆς στήλης [τ]ὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῷ γραμματεῖ τ-  
 ῆς βουλῆς ΔΔ δραχμάς. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς  
 25 [πεμφ]θέντας εἰς Μυτιλήνην καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς  
 [τὸ πρ]υτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. καλέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρου-  
 s τοὺς] Μυτιληναίων ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυταν[ε]ῖον εἰς αὔρ-  
 ιον. κ[αλέσαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν Μηθυμναίων  
 [καὶ Ἀ]ντισσαίων καὶ Ἐρεσίων καὶ Πυρρ[α]ίων ἐπὶ ξ[ένια  
 30 εἰς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

§ B. Rider moved by Autolykos:—

Αὐτόλυκος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν  
 ἄλλ[α] καθ[ά]περ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 [τοὺς] πεμφθέντας εἰς Λέσσβον Τιμόνο(θ)ον καὶ Αὐτόλυκ-  
 [ον κ]αὶ Ἀ[ρ]ιστοπείθην καὶ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰ-  
 [ς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

§ C. Decree of the year before, appended as ordered above:—

35 [Ἐπὶ Λυ]σιστράτου ἄρχοντος· ἔδοξεν τῇ[ι  
 βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Καλλίστρατος [εἶ-  
 πεν· ἐπα]ινέσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μυτ[ι]-  
 ηναίω]ν ὅτι καλῶς καὶ προθύμως συ[νδιε-  
 πολέμη]σαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν παρελθ[όν]-  
 40 α, ἀποκρί]νασθαι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι[ν τοῖ]-  
 s ἥκουσι] ὅτ[ι Ἀ]θ[η]ναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν [ὑπ]-  
 ἐρ τῆς ἑλε[ν]θ[ε]ρ[ί]ας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κα[ὶ] ἐπε-  
 ιδὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεστράτευσ[αν Ἀθ]-  
 ηναίοις παρὰ τ[οὺς] ὄρκους καὶ τὰ[ς] συν-  
 45 θήκας, αὐτοὶ τε] ἐβοήθουν καὶ τοὺς [ἄλλ]ο-  
 [υς συμμάχ]ο[υς] παρεκάλεσαν βοηθ[εῖν τῇ]-  
 ν καθήκου]σαν Ἀθηναίοις βοηθεῖ[αν, πει]-  
 θόμενοι τοῖς ὄρκοις, ἐπὶ το[ῦ]ς π[αραβαί]-  
 νοντας τὰ[ς] σπονδὰς, ἀξιοῦσιν δὲ [...  
 50 ..... ἐν] τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ ν . . .  
 ..... αι τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Μυτι[λ]-  
 ηναίων καὶ τῷ] δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων . .  
 - - - -

Mytilene was one of the first to join the new confederacy in B. C. 378 (see no. 101); the particular services referred to in the *appended decree*, § C, are not known, but probably Lesbian ships had helped Chabrias at the battle of Naxos in B. C. 376, and accompanied Timotheos in his Aegaeon cruise the following year. (Yet in this case the thanks would be somewhat late. Judeich refers it to an expedition by Iphikrates in B. C. 369–368 against Samos.) Doubtless Mytilene shared the growing hopes of further maritime supremacy for Athens (Grote, ch. 79): but more than this we cannot say towards connecting our inscription with the history of the time. The restoration of the latter part of § C is highly conjectural. Dittenberger is followed in the main. Stephanos, the mover of the first decree, was the husband of Neaira ([Dem.] lix. 43, where his connexion with Kallistratos, the mover of the decree of B. C. 369–368, is mentioned). See also no. 139. The name Hieroitas is well-known in Lesbos (Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oest.*, xv. p. 8). The *σύνεδροι* are the deputies of the cities in the league, sent to the synod at Athens. The more important states, such as Mytilene, as it appears from this inscription, had more than one representative; the rank and file had but one (see Höck, *loc. cit.*). In § B the mover was perhaps a near kinsman of his namesake the envoy.

## 110 [86].

## Negotiations between the Athenians and Leukadians:

B. C. 368.

Στοιχῆδόν. The text from Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. p. 400, no. 52 b. The additions in ll. 10 f. are suggested by Wilhelm; OP is plain at the end of l. 11.

*The beginning is lost; the end of a treaty remains:—*

— — —

ης· ἱππάρχῳ Νικη . . . . .

ικλῆς· στρατηγός· Φορμ[ίαν],

Σπουδίας. Λευκαδίων οἶδε ὦ-

〈ω〉ρκωσαν· Ἰσόδημος, Ὀλυμπι-

5 ἀδας.

*Beginning of a fresh decree, dated :—*

[Ε]πὶ Ναυσικένοῦς ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Κερ-  
 [οπίδο]ς πρώτης πρυτανείας· Μησιόβουλο-  
 [ς . . . . . ἐ]γραμμάτευε, Φίλιππος Εἰρ[ε-  
 σίδης ἐπεστάτει, ὁ δεῖνα εἶ]πεν· περ[ὶ]  
 10 ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσιν, ἐψηφίσθ]αι τῶι  
 [δῆμωι - - - - - τ]οὺς ὀρ-  
 [κους? - -]

The Leukadians were allied with Sparta in 373 B. C. in the expedition against Korkyra (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2, 3, 26). No peace or treaty between the Athenians and Leukadians is mentioned by the historians: but as Zakynthos and Kephalenia were already enrolled in the Athenian alliance (no. 101), possibly Leukas also followed them, especially when, after the battle of Leuktra (B. C. 371), the hopes of Athens rose higher than before (Grote, ch. 79).

# 111 [87].

**Honours from Athens to Straton, king of Sidon:**

**B. C. 370–362.**

Στοιχῆδόν. Found on the Akropolis; now at Oxford, where it has been collated afresh. The top only is imperfect. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 87; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 86; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 118; Michel, *Recueil*, 93. Comp. von Hartel, *Attisches Staatsr.* p. 223 (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1879, xcii. pp. 132 foll.); Clerc, *Mémoires Ath.* pp. 251 foll.; H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 189.

-----  
 ν] Ἀθηναί[ων κ]αὶ ἐπεμελ[ήθη] ὅπως ὥς  
 κάλλιστα πορευθήσονται οἱ πρέσ-  
 βεις ὥς βασιλέα οὗς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεμψ-  
 εν· καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῶι ἥκοντι π-  
 5 ἀρὰ τοῦ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ  
 ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὧν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ-  
 ὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων οὐ-  
 κ' ἔστι ὅτι ἀτυχήσει παρὰ Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν ὧν ἂν δέχται· εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρόξεν-  
 10 ον τοῦ δῆμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Στράτω-  
 να τὸν Σιδωνος βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν

καὶ ἐκγόνους· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀν-  
 αγραφάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἐ' στήλῃ λιθίνῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν καὶ  
 15 καταθέτω ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀ-  
 ναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς  
 ταμίαις τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς Δ  
 ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων· π-  
 οισάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἡ βουλὴ πρ-  
 20 ὅς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων ὅπως  
 ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδῇ ἕαν τι  
 πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων βασιλεὺς δεόμ-  
 ενος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σ-  
 ιδωνίων εἰδῇ ὅταμ πέμπῃ τινα ὦ-  
 25 σ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων· καλέσα-  
 ι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν ἡκοντα παρὰ  
 τοῦ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ἐς τὸ πρυτα-  
 νεῖον ἐς αὔριον.

*Rider proposed by Menexenos:—*

Μενέξενος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά-  
 30 περ Κηφισόδοτος· ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν Σιδω-  
 νίων οἰκοῦντες ἐς Σιδῶνι καὶ πολι-  
 τεύόμενοι ἐπιδημῶσιν κατ' ἐμπορ-  
 ῖαν Ἀθήνησι, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοὺς μετ-  
 οίκιον πράττεσθαι μηδὲ χορηγὸν  
 35 μηδένα καταστήσαι μηδ' εἰσφορὰν  
 μηδεμίαν ἐπιγράφειν.

The preamble of the decree, of which only a few words are preserved in lines 1-3, probably dealt with honours voted to Straton for his various services, and his kindness in helping forward the Athenian envoys, who had come to him at Sidon, in proceeding yet further to the Persian court (ὡς βασιλέα, line 3). In line 1, a paper impression, due to the kindness of Prof. Percy Gardner, shows AI before ἐπεμελήθη, confirming the conjecture Ἀθηναῖ[ων καὶ] made independently by Wilhelm. As Straton is throughout called ὁ Σιδῶνος β., or ὁ Σιδωνίων β., we may construe ὡς βασιλέα in its usual sense, and make the subject of ἐπεμελήθη Straton himself. Straton was famous in

antiquity for his luxurious court, as we know from Theopompos and Anaximenes, quoted in Athen. xii. 531: Οἷα γὰρ τοὺς Φαίακας Ὅμηρος ποιεῖν μεμνηθολόγηκεν ἐορτάζοντας καὶ πίνοντας καὶ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ ῥαψωδῶν ἀκροωμένους, τοιαῦτα καὶ ὁ Στράτων διετέλει ποιεῖν πολὺν χρόνον - - - ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Νικοκλέα φιλοτιμούμενος - - - οἷγε προήλθον εἰς τοσαύτην ἀμύλλαν, ὥς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων τὰς τε παρασκευὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν κ.τ.λ. ἐφιλονείκουν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀλλήλους . . . οὐ μὴν περὶ γε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν διητυύχησαν, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροι βιαίῳ θανάτῳ διεφθάρησαν. This Nikokles was prince of Kypros and the son of Euagoras—see nos. 92 and (1st ed.) 136. Both Straton and Nikokles were of course only subject-kings under the Persian government (cp. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 2). Straton took part in the great revolt of the Satraps and perished in B.C. 362: see Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. clxxxiii, citing S. Jerome *adv. Jovinian.*, i. 45. By σύμβολα (in line 19) are meant *tesserae hospitales*, i. e. practically, in the case of ambassadors, credentials. For Menexenos cp. no. 118. Kephisodotos (l. 30) is doubtless the well-known orator who is named by Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3. 2; vii. 1. 14; he was one of the σύνδικοι in the defence of Leptines. (See *Comm.* on Dem. *adv. Lept.*, which will also explain the exemption from εἰσφορά and χορηγία, &c.) There must always have been a certain number of Sidonian merchants residing at Athens and the Peiraeus: many tombstones of Sidonians are published in *C. I. A.* ii. 2836, 3316, &c. Any one merely calling at Athens in the course of trade would not be liable for the alien's tax; but should he stay over a certain time (the limit of which is unknown to us), he might become liable, and this rider secures Sidonians immunity from the tax in such a case. In line 17 the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ are meant: see no. 101, § 5, where also we find ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων. The nature of this fund, which was probably a grant from the treasury of the goddess, and is only met with about this time, is discussed at length by Panske, *de Magistr.* . . . *qui pec. publ. curabant* (Leipziger Studien, 1890), pp. 26 foll.

## 112 [88].

## Alliance between Athens and Dionysios I: B. C. 368-367.

Στοιχειδόν. Kohler, *C. I. A.* ii. 52; cp. *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, i. pp. 13 foll., and preceding decrees nos. 91, 108. Kirchhoff, *Philol.* xii. pp. 571 sqq.; v. Hartel, *Stud. über att. Staatsr.* pp. 104 foll. (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1878, xci. pp. 120 foll.); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 90; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 152, no. 159 (xl). See Beloch, *L'impero di Dionisio* (*Mem. della R. Accad. d. Lincei*, vii. 1881), p. 235; Schäfer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit.* i<sup>2</sup>. 91; Freeman, *Hist. Sic.* iv. 204.

- Ἐπὶ Ναυσιγέ[ν]ους ἄρχ[ου]τος, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντί-  
 δος ἐβδόμης π[ρυ]ταν[εί]ας, Μόσχος Κυδαθην-  
 αϊεύς ἐγρ[αμ]μάτενε, [δευτέραι καὶ τριακο-  
 στή] τῆς πρυ[τανεί]ας, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή-  
 5 φισε . . . . .]ς Ἀλίππου [. . . . .] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμ-  
 ωι . . .]δ[ιος] εἶπεν· [τύ]χ[η] ἀγαθῇ τῇ Ἀθην-  
 αίων, δε[δ]όχθ[αι] τῷ δήμ[ω] ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Δ-  
 ιονύσι[ο]ν τ[ὸν] Σικελία[ς] ἄρχοντα, ὅτι ἐστι-  
 ν ἀνὴρ ἀ[γα]θὸς περὶ τὸν [δῆμον τὸν] Ἀθηναίω-  
 10 ν καὶ τ[οὺς] συμμάχους· εἶναι δὲ συμμάχους αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους [τοῦ] δῆμου τοῦ Ἀθην-  
 αίων ἐ[ς] τ[ὸν] αἰὲ χρόνον [ἐπὶ τοῖσδε·] ἂν τις  
 ᾗ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν Ἀ[θη]ναίων ἐπὶ πολέμ-  
 ωι ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλα[τταν], βοηθεῖν Διο-  
 15 νύσιον καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόν[ους] αὐτοῦ καθότι ἂν  
 ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Ἀθην[αῖοι] καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ  
 κατὰ θάλα[τταν] παντ[ὶ] σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνα-  
 τόν· καὶ] ἂν τις ᾗ ἐπὶ Διονύσιον ἢ τοὺς ἐ-  
 κγόνου[ς] αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅσων ἄ[ρχει] Διονύσιος ἐπὶ  
 20 πολέμωι ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κ[ατὰ] θάλατταν, βοηθε-  
 ῖν Ἀθην[αίους] καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν κα-  
 τὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλα[τταν] παντ[ὶ] σθένει  
 κατὰ τ[ὸ] δ[υ]νατόν· ὅπλα [δὲ] μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐπι-  
 φέρειν Δ[ιο]νυσίωι μὴδὲ τοῖς ἐκγόνου[ς] αὐ-  
 25 τοῦ ἐπὶ τ[ῇ]ν χώρᾳ τὴν Ἀ[θη]ναίων ἐπὶ πημου-  
 νῃ μήτε κ[ατὰ] γῆν μήτε κ[ατὰ] θάλατταν· μὴδὲ  
 Ἀθην[αῖοι] ἐξεῖναι ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ  
 Διονύσι[ο]ν μὴδὲ τοῦ(ς) ἐκγόνου[ς] αὐτοῦ μὴδὲ  
 ὅσων ἄ[ρχει] Διονύσιος [ἐπὶ] πημονῇ μήτε κ-  
 30 ατὰ γῆν] μ[ή]τε κατὰ θάλα[τταν]. λαβεῖν δὲ τὸν

ὅρκον τ]δ[μ] περὶ τῆς συμ[μαχίας τοὺς πρέσβ-  
 εις τοῦ]ς παρὰ Διονυσίου ἤκοντας, ὁμόσαι  
 δὲ τήν τε] βουλὴν καὶ τοῦ]ς στρατηγούς καὶ τ-  
 οὺς ἑπτά]ρχους καὶ τοῦ]ς ταξιάρχους· ὁμόσα-  
 35 ι δὲ Διο]νύσιον καὶ τοῦ]ς υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν  
 βουλὴν τ]ῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τ . . . . .  
 τοὺς φρου]ράρχους· ὁμνῆ[ναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος ἑκα-  
 στον (?) ἑκα]τέρους τοῦ]ς ὅρκους· ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πρέσβ[εις τοὺς πεμφθέντας ἐ-  
 40 σ Σικελί]αν. ἀναγράψ[αι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῆς [βουλῆς - -

The restorations are easily made in accordance with the usual formulas of treaties. With lines 30 foll., which prescribe the manner of taking the oaths on either side, compare the similar provisions in Thuk. v. 47. The restoration of the last few lines is pretty certain as to the general sense, though particular words may be doubtful. In line 37 φρου]ράρχους is due to Kirchhoff, approved by Beloch (*L'impero di Dionisio, Memorie dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, vii. 1881, p. 235). The phrurarchs came next to the nauarchs, and commanded in the tyrant's strongholds. For the end of line 37, Dittenberger suggests ὁμνῆ[ναι δὲ τριάκοντα ἡμ]ερῶν ἑκα]τέρους. The relations between Dionysios and Athens have been described in nos. 91, 108: this alliance with Athens (which is nowhere else recorded) was one of the last acts of his life, for he died towards the middle of B. C. 367.

## 113 [89].

## Relations between Athens and Sparta: B. C. 367.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 50; iv (2), p. 15; Michel, *Recueil*, 92; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 92.

Ἐπὶ Ναυσιγένο[υ]ς ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰα[ντίδος ἐ]-  
 βδόμης πυρταειίας· Μόσχος Θεστίου Κ[υ]δ[αθηναεὺς]  
 ἑγραμμ[άτε]υε· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τῷ] δήμῳ· Αἰ]-  
 αντὶς [ἐπ]υτάνευε· Παράμυθος Ὀτρυν[εὺς ἐπεστάτ]-  
 5 ει· Μόσχος Θεστίου Κυδαθηνα[εὺς] ἑγ[ραμμάτευεν]·  
 (Δ)ιόφαντος εἶπεν· π[ερ]ὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβει]ς ἀπαγγέλ-



λ]ουσιν οἱ ἐγ Λακεδαίμονος ἦκοντες, [ἐψηφίσθαι]  
 τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν [τ]υγχά[νωσι προεδρ]-  
 εύοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρη[μα]τί[σ]αι περὶ αὐτῶν, γν]-  
 10 ὡμην δὲ ξυνβάλλ[εσθαι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅ-  
 τι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπειδὴ Κ[όρ]ο[ι]β[ος] ὁ [Λακεδαιμ]-  
 ὄνιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ[ός] ἐστιν περὶ [τ]ὸν [δῆ]μ[ον] τὸν Ἀθην]-  
 αίων καὶ νῦν κα(ι) ἐν τῷ πρ[ό]σ[θεν] χρ[ό]ν[ω]ι, εἶναι αὐτὸν]-  
 15 ὑπ[ὸ] πρόξενον καὶ εὐ[ε]ργέτην [τ]οῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου κα]-  
 ῖ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνου[ς]· τὸ δὲ [ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφ]-  
 ᾶτω ὁ [γ]ραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ κ]-  
 αὶ στ[η]σάτω ἐν ἀκροπόλ[ε]ι. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὁ  
 ταμ[ε]ί[α]ς τοῦ δήμου δότω [Δ]Δ δ[ραχμὰς] ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ  
 ψ[η]φίσματα ἀνα(λ)ισκ[ο]μέ[νων].

An alliance between Athens and Sparta was concluded in  
 B.C. 369 (see Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 1. 1-14; Grote, ch. 79; Holm, iii.  
 ch. 9). We cannot say what was the object of the mission of  
 Spartan envoys mentioned in this decree, which belongs to the  
 month of February 367; but it is noteworthy that this same  
 prytany saw an alliance made between Athens and Dionysios.  
 As Dionysios was a close friend of Sparta, this probably  
 involved further negotiations between the two states.

## 114 [90].

Samos taken and occupied by Attic Kleruchs :

B.C. 365.

List of Treasures in the Heraion: B. C. 346-345.

C. Curtius, *Inscripfen und Studien zur Gesch. von Samos*, Lübeck, 1877, pp. 10  
 foll.; Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* vii (1882), pp. 367 foll.; Swoboda,  
*Wiener Studien*, x (1888), pp. 284 foll.; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 220; Michel,  
*Recueil*, 832. The original is still at Samos, built into a farm-yard wall.

[Επ]ὶ Πεισιδῶ ἀρχοντος ἐν Σάμῳ, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου  
 ἀρχοντος· παρέλαβον οἱ ταμίαι Φίλων Λαμπ(ρεὺς), Διονύσιος  
 Κόλλυ(τεὺς), Βλέπυρος Παια(νιεύς), Φιλοκλῆς Φρεάρ(ριος),  
 Εὐξενος Θορ(κίος), Θεοκλῆς Ἀχαρ(νεὺς), Θεόφιλος[ . . . . . ],  
 Θέωρος Ἐλευ(σίσιος), Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀναφλ(ύστιος) παρὰ

- 5 ταμιῶν τῶν ἐπὶ || Θεο]κλέους ἄρχοντος ἐν Σάμῳ, Ἀθήνησι δὲ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους, [Σω]σθέν]ους Εὐω(νυμέως), Ἀγνοκράτους  
 Ἀλ[αι](έως), Ἀλκίου Πρασι(έως), Φιλοστράτου ἕξ Οὔ(ου), |  
 Ἀρ]ιστάρχου Ἀγνου(σίου), Ἀγασίου Ἀχαρ(νέως), Ῥ[αι]δίου  
 Μελι(τέως), Ἀντιφώντος Ἐλε[υ]σι(νίου), Καλλιμάχου Ἀφιδ-  
 (ναίου), Ἀμφικλέους Αἰγι(λιέως), ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος δε[υ]-  
 τέρας πρυτανείας ἔκτη καὶ δεκάτῃ· βουλὴ ἐν Ἡραῳ, τῶν  
 10 προέδ[ρ]||ων ἐπεψήφισε Φαίνιππος Κήττι(ος), συμπρόεδροι Φιλό-  
 στρατος Κηφι(σιεύς), Χ[α]ι]ρεφάνης Ἀλαι(εύς), Λύσανδρος Στερι-  
 (εύς), Διότιμος Ἀχαρ(νεύς), Φόρυς Μελι(τεύς), Θεόξ[ε]ν]ος  
 Ἐλευ(σίνιος), Παρμονίδης Τρικο(ρύσιος), Τιμαίνετος Αἰγι(λιεύς).  
 Κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ· κ[ι]θ[ω]ν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ἔχων ἰσ[ά]τιδος, Διο-  
 γένης ἀνέθηκε· κ[ι]θ[ω]ν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ὑακινθίνην ἔχων· κ[ι]θ[ω]ν  
 15 Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ὑακινθίνην ἔχ[ω]ν· κ[ι]θ[ω]ν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν ἄλορ-  
 γὴν ἔχων· κ[ι]θωνίσκος λινοῦς ἔξαστι[ν] | ἄλοργὴν ἔχων· κ[ι]θ[ω]ν  
 κατὰστικτος· κ[ι]θ[ω]ν Λύδιος ἔξαστιν λευκὴν [ἔ]χων· μίτρῃ λιτῇ  
 στυππείου· κ[ι]θωνίσκος χρυσῶι πεποικιλμένος μύρ]τον χρύσειον  
 ἔχων· περίβλημα λίνου ῥάκιον· μίτρῃ πάραυλος, ταύτη[ν] | ἤ]  
 θεὸς ἔχει· παράλασσις Ἴριον ἐμ μέσῳ ἔχει ἄλοργὴν· σινδὼν λῖς  
 20 ἦντινα || [τ]ῇ θεῷ παραπιτυῶσι κ.τ.λ.  
 38 Ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ νειῳὶ ὅσα ἐν [τ]ο[ῖ]ς μέρεσιν ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἐκ  
 τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ σε]σημασμένου, καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς τῆς θεοῦ Πελεύσιος  
 40 ἀπέφαιεν ὄντα πλὴν τῶν[δ]ε, τῶ[ν] ἐνέλειπ[εν]· Σκάφης χαλκῆς,  
 ταύτην [ἔ]φ[α]σαν θεσμοθέτας ἔχειν· ἀνδριαντίσκω(ν) | ἐκ τοῦ  
 ὠιδείου : Δ|| : ἱππίσκος χαλκοῦς :

Then follow the minutes of the adjourned meeting on the seventeenth day of the prytany (lines 42-55); this again is followed by minutes of a meeting in the fifth prytany. The long adjournment was probably only due to accident, and in ordinary years we may suppose that the list was drawn up and checked early in the official year.

For Timotheos' successes, and especially his conquest of Samos, see Isokrates, xv. *de permūt.* 107 foll. In spite of the engagement so explicitly given in no. 101, the Athenians proceeded to send out kleruchs: and though Samos was not a member of the Athenian league, but (since the Peace of Antalkidas) had been gradually brought under Persian dominion, yet none the less the Samian *κληρουχία* gave great offence to Greece. The first colonists were doubtless sent at once in B.C. 365, and

further detachments followed in 361 and 352 B.C. (Grote, ch. 79; Curtius, *Hist. Gr.* v. p. 95; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 274, note 2). The native Samians appear to have been entirely banished (see ed. 1, no. 135), and so large was the efflux from Athens to Samos, that Demades is quoted by Athen. (p. 99 D) as saying: τὴν μὲν Αἰγίαν εἶναι λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἀπορροῶγα τῆς πόλεως ('off-shoot,' perhaps also with the sense of being a drain on the city). The father of Epikuros was one of these Samian colonists, and the childhood of the philosopher was spent there: he came to Athens at eighteen (Diog. Laert. x. 1. 1). The temple of Hera at Samos, a temple well known from Herodotos, was comparable with Delphoi and Olympia for its collection of works of art. The portion of the list given here enumerates the κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ (her 'toilet'). Then follows a statement of the articles missing from the treasury ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ νειῷ; the remainder is certified to be in the treasury, the sealed inventory having been read out and the ἱερός (a temple-slave?) of the goddess having declared that the articles were in their places. Pelsios is a Samian name (B. V. Head, *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ionia*, p. 365, no. 170—a bronze coin of the third or second century B. C.). The dialect is Attic with an Ionic admixture, e. g. κιθῶν (χιτῶν); the Attic treasurers retained the spelling of the previous Samian registers. The heading reveals to us how completely the κληρουχία was a microcosm of Athens itself: here are archon, prytanies, πρόεδροι, ταμίαι, and the other details of the Athenian system. It is evident that one of the ταμίαι for B. C. 346 has been omitted by accident. The inventory was taken during the first six months of the new ταμίαι who entered office in July 346. At Athens it would have been made in the presence of the Logistai; but here it is before a special sitting of the βουλή in the Heraion itself; further, at Samos, it is the new officials who record the *taking over* of the treasures from their predecessors, while at Athens one board records the *handing over* of the treasures to its successor. The list closely resembles the treasure-lists drawn up at Athens after the archonship of Eukleides; especially those of Artemis Brauronia of the time of Lykurgos the orator. Ἐξαστις seems to mean 'a fringed edge.'

## 115.

Honours from Pisa to two Sikyonians.

About B. C. 364.

On a thin bronze plate from Olympia, broken in two; the letters are in *repoussé* work. Dittenberger and Purgold, *Inscriften von Olympia*, p. 73, no. 36. Michel, *Recueil*, no. 198. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, no. 98.

Θεός. [Τ]ύχα : Πρό[ξ]ενοι  
 θεαροδόκοι Κλέανδρος,  
 Σωκ[λῆς] : Πισατᾶν αὐτο-  
 ἰ κα[ὶ γέ]νος : Σεκυνῶνιοι,  
 5 ὑπὸ [Ἑλλα]νοδικᾶν : Ἀγιάδ-  
 as : Φίλ[ων] Λυκομή[δ]εος,  
 Βάθυλ[λος Κλ]εομ[ά]χῳ.

In B. C. 365 the forces of the Arkadian league expelled the Eleians from the place of festival, and commenced the games of the 104th Olympiad in conjunction with the Pisatans. Attacked by the Eleians, who had summoned help from Achaia, and supported by 2,000 Argives and 400 Athenian troopers, they maintained possession of the place; but in order to pay their troops, they were obliged to plunder the temple treasury. Some members of the league, however, and notably the Mantineians, protested against the sacrilege so effectually that in the end the treasure was restored and peace made with the Eleians (B. C. 363). See Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 4, 14-35. In the interval the Pisatans granted the honour of proxenia here recorded to Kleandros and Sokles. In B. C. 366 Kleandros himself is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellen.* vii. 1. 45) as one of five generals, elected by the Arkadians and Argives at the instance of Euphron the Sikyonian to lead them in the anti-Spartan movement. Note the anacoluthon in the last clause.

## 116 [91].

Astykrates (of Delphoi ?) banished by the Amphiktyonic Council; welcomed at Athens: B.C. 363.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 54; cp. Kirchhoff, *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1866, pp. 196-202; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 100; Michel, *Recueil*, 94; Sauppe, *Philologus*, xix. p. 249; H. Schenkl, *Wiener Studien*, 1880, p. 221; Pomtow, *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1894, p. 842; A. Wilhelm, *Hermes*, 24 (1889), p. 125 and *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221.

[Ἐπὶ Καρ]ικλείδου ἄρχοντος[ς ἐπὶ τ-  
 ῆς Ἀκα]μαντίδος δευτέρα[ς πρυτ-  
 ανεία]ς, ἥι Νικόστρατος[ς Φιλοστρ-  
 άτου] Παλληνεὺς ἔγρα[μμάτευεν,  
 5 τρι]ακοστῇι τῆς πρυτ[ανείας.  
 \*Ἐδ]οξεν τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῷ δήμῳι . . . .  
 . . ν]ης Παιανιεὺς ἐπεστάτε[ι, Κρατῖνος ?  
 ε]ῖπεν· περὶ ᾧν λέγει Ἀστυκρ[άτης ὁ Δελφ-  
 ὸς](?) καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐψηφίσθ[αι τῇι βουλ-  
 10 ῇι, τοὺς προέδρους, οἱ ἂν λάχω[σι προεδρε-  
 ύειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳι, προσαγαγ[εῖν Ἀστυκρ-  
 άτην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ε-  
 ἰς τ]ῇν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν κα[ὶ χρηματίσ-  
 αι, γ]νώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι [τῆς βουλῆς  
 15 εἰς] τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇι [βουλῇι, ἐπε-  
 ἰδῇ] Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Θετταλὸς[ς ἱερομνημο-  
 νῶν] παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῶν Ἀ[μ]φ[ικτιόνων  
 καὶ] τοὺς Δελφῶν εἰσήγαγεν ἀ[ειφυγίαν ?  
 κατ'] Ἀστυκράτους καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε  
 20 φυγ[αδεῦσαι Ἀστυκράτην καὶ [τοὺς μετ' α-  
 ὑτοῦ], καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, [. . . . .  
 . .] δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳι, τὰς μὲν [δίκας τὰ-  
 ς κ]ατὰ Ἀστυκράτους καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ γε-  
 γε]νημένας ἐν Ἀμφικτιόσιω [ἀ]τ[ελεῖς εἰ-  
 25 ναι]. εἰ δὲ τίς τι αἰτιᾶται Ἀστ[υκράτη κα-  
 ῖ τοῦς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀδικεῖν Δελ[φῶν τινὰ ἢ τ-  
 ὸ κοινοῦ] τῆς πόλεως τῆς Δελ[φῶν - - (here six  
 or eight lines are lost) - - -

- 35 ον, καλέσαι [δὲ Ἀστυκράτην καὶ τοὺς μετ' α]-  
 ὑτοῦ ἐπὶ ξένια [εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὐ]-  
 ριον.

*Rider proposed by Kratinos:—*

- Κρατῖνος εἶπεν· [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ]-  
 ι βουλῇι περὶ ὧν Ἀστυκράτης ὁ Δελφὸς (?) λ]-  
 40 ἐγει· εἶναι δὲ Ἀστυκρ[άτην Ἀθηναῖον κα]-  
 ἷ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶνα[ι αὐτὸν φυλῆς]  
 ἥστινος [ἄ]ν ἀπογράψηται, [κα]ἷ [δήμου καὶ]  
 φρατρίας. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [δὲ] αὐτοῦ καὶ τ]-  
 ῆμ βουλὴν τὴν αἰεὶ βο[υ]λε[ύ]ουσας ἑάν [του]  
 45 δέηται. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ κα[ὶ] ἀτ[έ]λειαν οἰ-  
 κοῦντι Ἀθήνησι. τὴν δὲ ψῆφον δοῦναι περ[ὶ]  
 αὐτοῦ τοὺς πρυτάνεις τοὺς [μετὰ] τὴν Ἀκαμ-  
 αντιδα πρυταν[εύ]οντας ἐν τῇ[ι] π[ρ]ώτῃ ἐ-  
 κκλησίαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ[ς] μ[ε]τ[ὰ] Ἀστυκ-  
 50 ράτους ἐκπεπτωκόσι [ἰ]σοτέλειαν καθάπ-  
 ἐρ Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀρχεδάμωι, [Ἀ]ρι[στ]οξένωι,  
 Δαμοσίμωι, Νικά[νδ]ρω[ι], Πατρο[κ]λεῖ, Ἀρχέ-  
 λαι, Μένωνι, Ἐχε[. . κ]ράτει, Ἡ[γ]ησ[τ]άρχωι, Ἐλ-  
 πινίκωι. [τ]ὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδ[ε] ἀ[ν]αγράφ[η]αι  
 55 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ[ς] ἐν [σ]τήλῃ[ι] λ[ι]-  
 θίνῃ [κ]αὶ στήσαι [ἐ]ν ἀκροπόλ[ει]. εἰς [δὲ] τ-  
 ῆν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ[ης] δοῦναι τὸν τα[μ]-  
 ῖαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔ δρα(χ)μὰς ἐκ [τ]ῶν [κα]τὰ ψηφί-  
 σματα ἀναλισκομένων τ[ῶ]ι δήμωι. καλέσ-  
 60 αι δὲ Ἀστ[υ]κράτη κ[αὶ] τοὺς μ[ε]τ[ὰ] Ἀστυκράτ-  
 ονς ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὐρίον.

Kirchhoff remarks that this decree is dated about nine months before the battle of Mantinea, or shortly before the last march of Epameinondas into Peloponnese. Thebes was at this moment supreme in northern Greece, since the capture of Oropos from Athens in B. C. 366 (Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 4. 1), the destruction of Orchomenos B. C. 364 (Diod. xv. 79), and the crushing defeat of Alexandros of Pherai (Plut. *Pelopid.* 35). Note, as regards this last fact, that the hieromnemon who proposed the punishment of Astykrates was a Thessalian.

The Thebans, thus dominant, were not slow to make the Amphiktyonic council subserve their own political purposes, as afterwards in the Sacred War. But in Phokis there was a decided opposition to the supremacy of Thebes; and the Phokians declined to follow Epameinondas in his last expedition (Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 5. 4). Therefore we may adopt Kirchhoff's plausible suggestion, that the persons here welcomed at Athens were citizens of Delphoi who were friendly to Athens, and were the leaders of the anti-Theban opposition, and had accordingly been banished through Theban influence. Dittenberger notes, however, that of the eleven names mentioned, no less than six occur among the Delphic magistrates between 351 and 343 B. C.; so that it would seem that the exiles were recalled after the fall of the Theban supremacy. Kratinos, who had probably moved the *προβούλευμα*, appears to have taken the opportunity of moving an amendment to it when brought before the *ἐκκλησία*.

## 117 [92].

The Athenians thank Menelaos for helping Timotheos in  
Chalkidike: B. C. 363-362.

Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 55; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* <sup>2</sup>, 102; Michel, *Recueil*, 96. Comp. Sauppe, *Philologus*, xix. 247; Dittenberger in *Satura phil. H. Sauppeo oblat.* (1879), pp. 43 foll.

[Μ]ενέλαος Πελαγῶν εὐεργέτ[η]ς.

Ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ

τῆς Οἰνητῆδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Οἰνεῖς ἐπρυτάνευ(ε)ν· Νικ-  
5 [ό]στρατος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Χαρικλῆς Λευκονοεὺς ἐπεστά-  
[τ]ει· Σάτυρος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Τιμόθεος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποφα[ί]-  
νε[ι] Μενέλαον τὸν Πελαγόνα καὶ αὐτὸν συνπολεμοῦ-  
ντα καὶ χρήματα παρέχοντα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρ-  
[ος] Χαλκιδέας καὶ πρὸς Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ β-  
10 [ουλ]ῇ προσάγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρῶ-  
[την] ἐκκλησίαν, γνώμην δὲ ξυνβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλ-

[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι μέ-  
 [ν αὐ]τὸν ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν καὶ ποιεῖ ὅ τι δύναται-  
 [ι ἀγ]αθὸν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
 15 [δὲ αὐ]τοῦ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς ὄντας περ-  
 [ι Μα]κεδονίαν, ὅπως ἄν, ἐάν του δέηται, τυγχά-  
 [νῃ]. εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δήμο-  
 [ν ἐ]άν τι δύνῃται καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν· καλέσαι δὲ [καὶ  
 Με]νέλαον ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς [αὔριον].

*Rider proposed by the mover:—*

20 [Σάτυ]ρος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [τῇ βουλῇ·  
 ἐπεί]δῃ [δ]ε καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Μ[ενε]λάου εὐεργ-  
 ἐται ἦσαν] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη[ναίων, εἶναι καὶ  
 Με]νέλαον εὐεργ[ε]τή[ν - - - -]

The Menelaos of this inscription apparently belonged to the tribe of the Lynkestai (a branch of the Pelagones), and is to be distinguished from the half-brother of king Philip (Justin, vii. 4. 5: cp. Harpokration, s. v. *Μενέλαος*; in the latter passage the two are identified). Our inscription proves that Menelaos was in the neighbourhood of Thrace, and co-operating with Timotheos in those successes in Chalkidike and the Makedonian coast which are described by Isokrates (xv. *de permut.* 111-113). At a later date (B. C. 351, *Philipp.* i. § 27), Demosthenes chides the Athenians for allowing Menelaos to fight their battles for them, i. e. against Philip in Thrace. We know that Timotheos' great difficulty was money to pay his troops (cp. Grote, ch. 79), so that it is interesting to find Menelaos assisting him with funds. Timotheos failed to take Amphipolis.

The reference to Menelaos' forefathers is borne out by fragmentary inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. 42, 43; Hill, *Sources for Gk. Hist.* iii. 272, 273), which prove friendly relations between Athens and Arrhabaios, king of the Lynkestai (cp. Thuk. iv. 79 foll.). The ἄλλο ἀγαθόν, as we see from no. 124, was probably the Athenian citizenship.



## 118 [93].

Counter-revolution in Keos checked by Athens:

B. C. 363-362.

Στοιχιδόν. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ii (1877), p. 142; C. I. A. iv (2), 54 b (p. 16); Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 101; Michel, *Recueil*, 95; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 163, no. 173 (xliii). Comp. Hartel, *Att. Staatsrecht* (Wiener Sitzungsber., 1878, xci. pp. 104 foll.); Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxii (1887), p. 241, note 1; E. Sonne, *de arbitr. extern.* p. 105; Szanto, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xvi (1891), p. 35; Pridik, *de Cei ins. rebus* (1892), pp. 36 foll.; Lipsius, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, p. 159. The marble is at Athens.

## Θεοί.

Ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου ἄρχοντος· Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευεν, Νικό-  
στρατος Παλληνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, Φιλίτιος Βουτάδης  
ἐπεστάτει· § 1. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ἀριστοφῶν  
5 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἰουλιῆται, οὓς κατήγαγον Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπο-  
φαίνουσιν ὀφείλουσαν τὴν π[ό]λιν τὴν Ἰουλιητῶν τῇ πόλει(ι)  
τῇ Ἀθηναίων τρία τάλαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ λογισθέντος ἀργυ-  
[ρ]ίου κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὃ Μενέξενο-  
ς ε[ἵ]πεν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἀποδοῦναι Ἰουλιήτας Ἀθηνα-  
10 ῖοις ταῦτα τὰ χρ[ή]ματα ἐν τῷ Σκιροφοριῶνι μηνὶ τῷ ἐ-  
πὶ Χαρικλείδου ἄρχοντος· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν τῷ χ-  
ρόνῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ε[ἵ]σπραξάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἡρημέν-  
οι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰσπράτ[τ]ειν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα παρ-  
ὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν τρόπ[ω]ι ὅτῳ ἂν ἐπίστανται· συνεισπρα-  
15 τόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς [καὶ] οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἰουλιητῶν Ἐχέ-  
τιμος καὶ Νικόλεω[s κ]αὶ Σ[ά]τυρος καὶ Γλαύκων καὶ Ἡρακ-  
λείδης. § 2. ὅπως [δ' ἂν κ]αὶ οἱ ὄρκοι καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι, ἃς συνέθ-  
ετο Χαβρίας ὁ στ[ρ]ατηγὸς κα[ὶ] ὥμοσε Κείοις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηνα-  
ίων καὶ Κείων οὓς κα[τῆ]γαγον [Α]θηναῖοι, κύριαι ὦσι, ἀναγ-  
20 ράφαι τοὺς στρατηγ[οὺς] τοὺς [Ἰου]λιητῶν, οὓς εἴρηται ἐν τῷ  
ψηφίσματι συνεισπράττειν τὰ χρήματα, ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
νῃ, καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καθ-  
άπερ ἐν Κερθαλαί ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσί, ἀναγράφαι δὲ  
καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς στήλῃ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ  
25 στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν τ-  
αμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλι-  
σκομένων. § 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἰουλιητῶν οἱ παραβάντες τοὺς ὄρκ-

ους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ πολεμήσαντες ἐναντία τῷ δή-  
 μῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κε[ί]οις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχο-  
 30 ις καὶ θανάτου αὐτῶν καταγνωσθέντος κατελθόντ[ε]ς ἐς  
 Κέω τὰς τε στήλας ἐξέβαλον] ἔ[ν] αἴ[ς] ἦσαν ἀναγεγραμ[μ]έν-  
 αι αἱ συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρα-  
 βάντων τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς Ἀ-  
 θηναίων, οὓς κατήγαγεν ὁ δῆμος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν  
 35 δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὰς οὐ[σ]ίας ἐδήμευσαν παρὰ  
 τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, Σατυρίδου καὶ Τιμοξένου κα-  
 ἰ Μιλτιάδου, ὅτι κατηγόρουν Ἀντιπάτρου, ὅτε ἡ βουλὴ ἡ Ἀθην-  
 αίων κατέγνω αὐτοῦ θάνατον, ἀποκτ[ε]ίναντος τὸν πρόξε-  
 νον τὸν Ἀθηναίων . . . ισ . ωνα παρὰ [τ]ὰ ψήφισματα τοῦ δή-  
 40 μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων κ[α]ὶ [π]αρα[β]άντα (sic) τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς  
 συνθή-

κας, φεύγειν αὐτοὺς [Κ]έω [καὶ] Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶ-  
 ν δημοσίαν εἶναι τοῦ δή[μου] τοῦ Ἰουλιητῶν ἀπογράφαι δ-  
 ἐ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτ[έ]κα μά[λα] ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου τῷ γ-  
 ραμματεῖ τοὺς στρατηγού[ς] τ[οὺς] Ἰουλιητῶν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦν-  
 45 τας Ἀθήνησι· ἐὰν δέ [τινες τῶν] ἀπογραφέντων ἀμφισβητ-  
 ῶσι μὴ εἶναι τούτων τῶ[ν] ἀνδρῶ[ν], ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἐγγυη-  
 τὰς καταστήσασι πρὸς [τ]οὺς[ς] σ[τ]ρατηγούς τοὺς Ἰουλιητῶν τρ-  
 ιάκουτα ἡμερῶν δικά[ς] ὑ[π]ο[σ]χ[ε]ῖν [κα]τὰ τ[οὺς] ὅρκους καὶ τὰς  
 συνθήκας ἐν Κέω καὶ [ἐν τῇ ἐκκ]λήτῳ [π]όλει Ἀθήνησι· Σ-  
 50 ατυρίδην δὲ καὶ Τιμό[ξ]ενον καὶ Μ[ιλτιάδ]ην ἀ[π]ιέναι [ε]ἰ-  
 ς Κέω ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπ[αι]ν[έ]σ[α]ι δὲ τ[οὺς] ἡκοντας Ἰουλιητῶ-  
 ν Δημήτριον, Ἡρακλ[ε]ίδην, Ἐ[χέτι]μόν, Κ[αλ]λ[ί]φαντον· ἐπαι-  
 νέσαι δὲ καὶ Σατυρ[ί]δην καὶ Τιμ[ό]ξενον καὶ Μιλτιάδην.  
 ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ [τ]ὴν [π]όλιν τὴν Κα[ρ]θαίων καὶ Ἀγλώκρι-  
 55 τον καὶ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ [ξ]έ[ν]ια εἰς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς  
 αὐριον.

§ 4. Τάδε συνέθεντο καὶ ὥμοσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρ-  
 ὸς τὰς πόλε(ι)ς τ[ῶ]ν ἐν Κέωι κα[ὶ] οἱ σύμμαχοι· οὐ μνησικακήσω  
 τῶ[ν] πα[ρ]εληλυθότων πρὸς[ς] Κείους οὐ[δ]ένος οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ Κ-  
 60 [είων] οὐ[δ]έ[να] οὐδὲ φυγάδα ποιήσω τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς ὅρκο-  
 [ις καὶ τ]αῖς συνθήκαις ταῖςδε, εἰς δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν εἰσά-  
 [ξω καθάπ]ερ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους· ἐὰν δέ τι[ς] νωτερίζῃ τι  
 [ἐν Κέωι παρ]ὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω οὐ-  
 [τε τέχνη] οὐ[τε] μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ εἰς τὸ δυνατόν· [ε]ἰ δέ τις  
 65 [μὴ βούλεται οἰ]κεῖν ἐν Κέωι, ἐάσω αὐτὸν ὅπου ἂν βούληται τῶ-

[ν συμμαχίδων πόλ]εων οἰκοῦντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καρποῦσθαι· ταῦτα  
 [ἐμπεδορκήσω νῆ τὸν] Δία, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, [ν]ῆ  
 [τὴν Δήμητρα, εὐορκοῦντι] μὲν πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἐπιорκοῦντι-  
 70 [ς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς] καὶ Κεῖων οὓς κατήγαγον Ἀθ[η-  
 ναῖοι· συμμαχήσω Ἀθηναίοις καὶ] τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καὶ οὐ-  
 [κ ἀποστήσομαι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων οὐδὲ τῶ]ν συμμαχῶν οὔτε αὐτοὺς  
 [ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλωι πείσομαι ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν· τὰς δὲ δίκας καὶ [τ-  
 ἀς γραφὰς τὰς κατ' Ἀθηναίων ποιήσομαι] πάσας ἐκκλήτους [κ-  
 75 ατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ὅποσαι ἂν ᾧσιν ὑπὲρ ἐκαστὸν δραχμὰς· ἐὰ-  
 [ν δέ τις τολμᾷ ἀδικεῖν Κεῖων τοὺς κατελθόντας ἢ Ἀθηναίον-  
 [ς ἢ τῶν συμμαχῶν τινὰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ] τὰς συνθήκας,  
 [οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδ']εμναί, βοηθή-  
 [σω δὲ παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ταῦτα ἐμπ]εδορκήσω ν-  
 80 [ῆ τὸν Δία, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, νῆ τὴν Δ]ήμητρα, εὐ-  
 [ορκοῦντι μὲν πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἐπιорκοῦντι δὲ κα]κά.

§ 6. [Τάδε ᾤμοσαν Κεῖων οὓς κατήγαγον Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐ μν]ησικακ-  
 [ήσω - - - - - ]ων οὐδὲ  
 - - - - - μανο  
 85 - - - - - ου  
 - -

Keos had been among the first islands that joined the new Athenian league in B.C. 376-375 (see no. 101). It appears that, no doubt at the time of the presence in the Aegæan waters of the naval force under Epameinondas (B.C. 363; Diod. Sic. xv. 78-79; Grote, ch. 79), which had for its object injury to Athenian maritime influence, there took place in Keos an anti-Athenian revolution. The Athenian proxenos was killed by one Antipatros, and the Athenian faction expelled. Chabrias however restored them, and Antipatros was condemned to death. Again the anti-Athenian party rose to power at *Iulis*, and took the steps sanctioned by custom in such circumstances (§ 3). From the Scholiast on Aischines, i. 64, we gather that Aristophon was sent to Keos as general, and punished the rebels severely διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν, for which Hypereides afterwards unsuccessfully indicted him in a γραφή παρανόμων. It was Aristophon then who put down the second revolution. The Athenians appear to have assisted

the people of Iulis with money, which now in B. C. 363 they require to be repaid by the month of Skirophorion (June, B. C. 362), the last month of Charikleides' year. Other islands in the league were backward in the payment of loans and *συντάξεις*, as appears from the mention of the Commissioners in § 1.

§ 2 orders the erection at Iulis and Athens of the terms of agreement settled by Chabrias when he reorganized the city after the first revolution. These are given in §§ 4 foll.

§ 3 describes the second anti-Athenian revolution. It is not clear whether the stelai which were thrown out of the temple contained the original contract with Athens, made about B. C. 374, or the contract referred to in § 2.

Lines 47 foll.: Accused were to appear before the strategoi within thirty days in Keos, or at Athens, the *ἐκκλητος πόλις*, at which certain cases were to be tried. *δίκη ἐκκλητος* below (l. 74) seems, although this point is not quite certain, to refer to appeal-cases, and not merely to any cases which were tried in the first instance at Athens (cp. Hesych. s. v. *ἐκκλητοι δίκαι· αἱ ἐπὶ ξένης λεγομέναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει*). See Lipsius, *loc. cit.*

§ 4 recites the covenant and oath entered into by Chabrias (representing Athens and the allies) towards the city of Keos. Lines 65, 66: the object of allowing malcontents to reside in any of the allied states was to prevent their going over to the Theban side.

§ 5 gives the corresponding engagement and oath of allegiance on the part of the city of Keos towards Athens and the league. The Keians undertake to allow all cases involving sums of more than 100 drachmai to be tried in the first instance in the *ἐκκλητος πόλις* (Athens).

§ 6 gives the oath of the citizens of Keos favourable to Athens and now restored to their city.

For a commercial treaty with Keos in which, doubtless as a punishment for the revolt, very stringent terms are dictated by Athens, see no. 137.

## 119 [94].

**Alliance between Athens, the Arkadians, Achaians, Eleians, and Phleisians: B. C. 362-361.**

Στοιχιδόν. Two fragments: (a) Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. p. 403, no. 57 b; and in *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. p. 197. (b) Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 112; *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. p. 203. Cp. Beloech, *Die att. Pol. seit Perikl.* p. 318; G. F. Unger, *Philol.* 49 (1890), p. 121; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 168, no. 174 (xliv); Michel, *Recueil*, 10; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 105, and add. vol. ii. p. 810; Foucart, *Mél. d'Épigr.* p. 56, and *Rev. Arch.* 1898, ii. pp. 313 foll. The top of the stèle is surmounted by a relief representing Zeus enthroned, with thunderbolt; a female figure (=the *Συμμαχία*?) approaches, lifting her veil, while Athens stands by.

Ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἀρχοντος.

Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἡλ-  
είων καὶ Φλειασίων· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμ-  
ῳ· Οἰνῆς ἐπρυτάνευσεν, Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀγαθάρχου Ὁθηθε-  
5 ν ἐγραμμάτευ[εν], Ξάνθιππος Ἑρμείος ἐπεστάτει· Πε-  
ρίανδρος εἶπε[ν]· εὖξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μ-  
άλα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Πολιά-  
δι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα [θ]-  
εοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς, ἔαν συνενείγκῃ (σίε) [Ἀθη-  
10 ν]αίων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, θυ-  
σία]ν καὶ πρόσδοτον ποιήσεσθαι[ι] τελουμένων [τούτω-  
ν κα]θότι ἂν τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ· τα[ῦ]τα μὲν ἡνύχθ[αι], ἐπει-  
δὴ δ]ὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι δόγμα εἰσήνευγκαν εἰς [τὴν βουλ-  
ὴν δ]έχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν καθὰ ἐπαγγέλλονται ο-  
15 ι Ἀρ]κάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Φλε[ιάσιοι κα-  
ὶ ἡ βο]υλὴ πρὸς βούλευσεν κατὰ ταῦτά, δεδόχθαι τῷ δ-  
ήμῳ εἶναι συμμάχους τύχη ἀγαθῇ τοῦ δήμου εἰς  
τὸν αἰ[ὲ] χρόνον Ἀθηναίων τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχ-  
ους καὶ Ἀρ]κάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Φλει-  
ασίους - - - - -]

(b) - - - -

.. ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ταύτῃ. ἔαν δέ τις ᾗ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττι-  
25 κή]ν, ἢ τὸν δῆμον [καταλύῃ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τύραννον  
κα]θιστῇ ἢ ὀλιγαρχίαν, βοηθεῖν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαι-  
οὺς] καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Φλειασίους Ἀθηναῖοι παντὶ σ-  
θ[έ]νῃ καθότι ἂν [ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸ δ-

- νν]ατόν· καὶ ἔάν [τις ἦι ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἢ τὸν]  
 30 δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Φλειασίων, ἢ ἔάν τὴν πολιτείαι]-  
 ν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τ[ὴν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τὴν Ἡλείων καταλύει ἢ]  
 μεθιστῇ, ἢ φυγα[δεύει τινάς, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους τ]-  
 ούτοις παντὶ σθ[ένει καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν οἱ ἀ]-  
 δικούμενοι, κα[τὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ἡγεμόνας δὲ εἶναι ἐ]-  
 35 ν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκά[στοις· ἔάν δέ τι ἄλλο δοκῇ ἀπάσαις  
 τ]αῖς πόλεσι πρ[οσθελναι, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ, εὖορκον εἶν]-  
 αι. ὁμόσαι δ' [ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τὰ μέγιστα τέλη Πελο]-  
 ποννησίων, [τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ταξιάρχ[ους καὶ τοὺς ἱππάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρ]-  
 40 χους καὶ τ[οὺς ἱππέας· ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κ]-  
 αὶ Ἡ[λ](ε)[ίων καὶ Φλειασίων ὁμόσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις το]-  
 ῦς ἐπιδημούντας Ἀθήνησιν - - -].

This alliance, made under Molon (i.e. after 22-23 July, 362), has to be connected with the battle of Mantinea (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 1-3). That battle is placed by Diodoros in the year of Charikleides (xv. 82; cp. [Plut.] x. *Or.* p. 845 e). Either therefore these authorities date the battle too early (as Beloch supposes, who would put it possibly as late as June-July, 361); or this alliance is subsequent to the battle (P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*; B. Niese, *Hermes*, 34, p. 527, note 1). In the latter case, the alliance which we have here is merely a renewal of the agreement which must have been made by Athens with the same allies before the battle. Thus, for instance, with the arrangement in lines 34, 35, compare the understanding mentioned by Xenophon (vii. 5. 3), that the hegemony should belong to each state in its own territory. The Lakedaimonians, who had stood with the Athenians at Mantinea, are said to have excluded themselves from the *κοινὴ εἰρήνη* which followed (see next inscription); accordingly we find they have no part in this new alliance. Xenophon does not name the Phleasians, but their position was, as hitherto, one of firm fidelity to the Spartan side; see Xenophon's chapter of praise, *Hell.* vii. 2. Their constitution was democratic in B.C. 381-380 (ibid. v. 3. 16), and probably also at the time of this agreement (cp. l. 30). Elis and Achaia were under oligarchies (ibid. vii. 1. 43; 4. 15).

## 120.

## The Greeks and the Revolt of the Satraps: B. C. 362-361.

Seen by Fourmont at Argos, and published from his copy by Böckh, *C. I. G.* 1118. A. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* iii (1900), pp. 145 foll.; M. Fränkel, *Rh. Mus.* 56 (1901), pp. 233 foll. Cp. U. Köhler, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* i. p. 15, note 1; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 7, p. 67; A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes u. seine Zeit*, i<sup>2</sup>, 115, note 1.

----- νου φυγ -----  
 ----- μετ]έχουσιν τῆς κοινῆς [εἰρήνης· δηλ-  
 ὡσαι δὲ τῶι παρὰ τ]ῶν σατραπῶν ἤκοντι διότ[ι] οἱ [Ἕλληνες πρ-  
 εσβεύσ]αυτες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλέλυνται τὰ ἀ[μφίλογα πρὸ-  
 5 σ] κοινὴν εἰρήνην, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ π[ρὸς αὐτοὺς πολ-  
 ἐ]μου τὰς πόλεις ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ὡς μεγ[ίστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτ-?  
 α]ς ποιῶσιν καὶ χρήσιμοι μένωσιν τοῖς φίλο[ις καὶ ἰσχυροί·?  
 β]ασιλεῖ δὲ οὐδένα πόλεμον οἶδα[ι]σιν ὄντα πρὸς ἑαυτούς, κ-  
 ᾶ]ν [ῆ]συχίαν ἔχῃ καὶ μὴ συνβάλλῃ τοὺς Ἕ[λληνας μηδὲ τὴν ν-  
 10 ὦν] γεγενημένην ἡμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπιχειρῇ[ι διαλύειν τέχνηι μ-  
 ηδ]εμῖαι μηδὲ μηχανῇι, ἔξομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς [ῆσυχίαν τὰ πρὸς β-  
 ασ]ιλέα· ἐὰν δὲ πολεμῇ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν [ἐνσπόνδων ἡμῖν ἢ πρ-  
 ᾶ]γματὰ τισι παρέχῃ· ἐπὶ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρή[νης τῇσδε ἢ αὐ-  
 τὸς] ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν τοῖς τήνδε [τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσα-  
 15 σιν] ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου χώρ[ας, βοηθησόμεν κοινῇ-  
 ι πάντ]ε[ς ἀξίως τῆς τε νῦν γεγενημένης εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν προγ-  
 ὄνων· . . . .] τοῖς δικασταῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν [πόλεων - -  
 - -] χώρας ΑΣ ἀμφιλλεγонт - -  
 - - - - ν ἐπὶ τούτοις διην - -  
 20 - - - - - αυτας - - -

The restorations given in the text are Wilhelm's, modified in l. 8 in accordance with Fränkel's reading οἶδασιν (cp. Xen. *Oecon.* xx. 14; Jannaris, *Hist. Gk. Grammar*, § 970). The inscription is sufficiently well preserved to show that it represents a resolution taken by Greek states who had agreed to settle their differences (l. 4) and join in a κοινὴ εἰρήνη. Böckh supposed this to be the peace of Antalkidas (B. C. 386); Köhler the peace which followed the battle of Chaironeia. Schäfer in his latest reference to the subject doubts the

genuineness of the inscription; seemingly without good reason, since a forger would have avoided the difficulties which the text presents to the restorer. For reasons given by Wilhelm, Böckh's and Köhler's dates must be rejected. It is to be noticed that a message has come to the Greeks from 'the satraps,' in reply to which they state that unless the Great King takes the offensive they will not in any way move against him. This circumstance points to the time of the revolt of the satraps (Diod. xv. 90). Just as Tachos of Egypt appealed to Athens (see no. 121), so, it would seem, the satraps who had intrigued together against their master appealed to the Greeks in general. Chabrias went to help Tachos in his private capacity; the Spartans on the other hand were the only Greeks to make an alliance of state with Tachos, and they sent their king Agesilaos (Grote, pt. 2, ch. 80). Now Diodoros (xv. 89. 1) tells us that after the battle of Mantinea, the Greeks *συνθέμενοι κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ συμμαχίαν κατέταττον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκατάλλακτον ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν σπουδῶν οὐ προείλοντο κοινωνεῖν καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον ἑκσπονδοι.* Cp. xv. 90; Polyb. iv. 33. 8 f.; Plut. Ages. 35.

The documents relating to the negotiations between the various states with a view to such a general peace after the defeat of Thebes at Mantinea would naturally, since Sparta abstained from this movement, be drawn up in the dialect of the other leading state—Athens. This explains the fact that the dialect of our fragment is Attic, in spite of its being found at Argos. The satraps seem to have approached the Greeks during the course of their negotiations, and have received the reply embodied in this inscription.

The last lines seem to have reference to judges delegated by the states in connexion with territorial disputes. So far as the negotiations for the general peace were concerned, the settlement of such disputes must have been an important factor. But the inscription when intact probably referred to many matters, of which only one, the relation with Persia, is preserved to us.



## 121 [95].

Envoys of Tachos king of Egypt at Athens: B. C. 362-1.

Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 60; Foucart, *Rev. de Philologie*, 1896, pp. 84. fol. A mere fragment.

Θ[εοί].

Φανοκλ[ῆς - - -

- ]ς ἔγρα[μμάτευεν].

Τοῖς Ταχῶ [πρέσβεισιν].

5 Πύρρητι,

[᾽Α]πολλοδώρ[ωι,

Ζω]πύρῳι

(The decree which followed is now lost).

Tachos king of Egypt shared in the general revolt of the Western Satrapies from Persia at the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes II. Tachos, in the desire to render himself independent, called in the aid of mercenaries, and secured the assistance of the aged Agesilaos from Sparta (who died on his march homewards to Kyrene in the winter of 361-360 B. C.), and of Chabrias from Athens. See the notes on the preceding inscription; Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* s. v. Tachos; Niese on Agesilaos in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclop.* i. 802; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* iii. p. 759; Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 164 foll.; Xen. *Ages.* ii. 27 foll.; Plut. *Ages.* 36 foll.; Clinton, *F. H.* ii, Appendix on the Kings of Sparta (*Agesilaos*). Foucart dates our inscription in B. C. 360-59 or one of the succeeding two years, since in these alone is there a vacancy for the secretary Phanokles. But the assumption of so late a date causes other difficulties. Possibly Phanokles was a *suffectus* in B. C. 362 or 361.

## 122 [96].

Relic of Chabrias' Expedition to Egypt: B. C. 361-360 (?).

On a stone (now lost) found somewhere near Memphis: the text is from Böckh-Franz, *C. I. G.* vol. iii. no. 4702.

All that the inscription itself reveals is that it is a votive monument to an Egyptian deity, erected by Greek mercenaries

some time in the fourth century B. C. The writing cannot be later. The editors are therefore justified in conjecturing that these may have been mercenaries in Chabrias' expedition in help of King Tachos (see no. 121). But it is equally possible that the inscription may belong to the time of Chabrias' earlier campaigns in Egypt (B. C. 386-380): see Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 159. Strabo mentions a Χαβρίου χάραξ and a Χαβρίον κόμη in the Delta, which doubtless date from this campaign (Strab. pp. 760, 803; cp. Plin. *N. H.* v. 68; *Chabriae castra*). The metrical lines, of which only a fragment remains, are only restored *verbi gratia*. The οἰκοδομαί are the pyramids. Τάνος is probably Ptah-Tanen (or -Tatunen) the chief god of Memphis.

[Αντ' εὐεργεσίας Ἑλλήνων ἀενάοισιν  
Οἶδε πρὸς οἰκ]οδομαῖς Τάνον θεὸν ἰδρύσαντο.

Λυσίκριτος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Ἀνδρο[χ]αρίς Νισύρι(ος), Μνασιγένης Βοιωτ(ός). Ἐπιτέλης Κυρανα(ῖος), Στράτων Καρυανδ(εύς), Σωσι-κ[λ]ῆς Ἀθηνα[ῖ](ος), Δημήτριος Ἀθηναῖο(ς), Ἀπολλωνίδας Κορί(ν-θιος), Πυθόδωρος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀθην(αῖος).

Καὶ τ[ῆ]ν τρά[πεζ]αν ἀνέθε-  
σαν Ἀμυρταῖος Ῥόδιος κ.τ.λ.

The τράπεζα is a marble table in front of the image to receive gifts and libations: Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, Pl. xiv. 8.

## 123 [97].

**Alliance between Athens and the Thessalians, against  
Alexandros of Pherai: B. C. 361-360.**

Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* ii (1877), pp. 197 foll.; cp. p. 291; *G. I. A.* iv (2), 59 b (p. 21); Michel, *Recueil*, 11; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 108; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 176 (xlv).

Θε[ο]ῖ.

Ἐπὶ Νικοφύμου ἀρχοντος

συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ

Θετταλῶν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.

5 Ἐδοξεν τ[ῇ] [β]ουλῇ κα[ὶ] τῷ δήμῳ· Λ[ε]ωντὶς ἐπρυτάνε-

- νεν, Χαιρ[ί]ων Χαριναύ[τ]ον Φαληρεῦ[ς] ἐγραμμάτευεν, Ἄρ-  
 χιππος Ἀμφ[ί]τροπῆθε[ν] ἐπεστάτει· δωδεκάτηι τῆς πρ-  
 υτανείας· Ἐ[ξ]ηκεστίδης εἶπεν· [π]ε[ρ]ὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ π-  
 [ρ]έσβεις τῶν Θετταλῶ[ν], ἐψηφίσθα[ι] τῶι δ[ή]μωι, δέχεσθ-  
 10 αὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τύχ[η]ι ἀγαθῇ κ[α]θὰ ἐπ[α]νγέλλοντα-  
 [ι] οἱ Θετταλο[ι], εἶναι δὲ αὐ[τ]ο[ῖ]ς τῇ[ν] συμμ[α]χίαν πρὸς Ἀ-  
 θηναίους εἰς [τ]ὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον· εἴ[ν]αι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθην-  
 αίων συμμ[α]χ[ο]υς ἅπαντας Θετταλῶ[ν] συμμ[α]χους καὶ τοὺς  
 [Θ]ετταλῶν Ἀ[θη]ναίων· ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἀ[θη]ναίων μὲν τοὺς στρ-  
 15 [ατ]ηγούς καὶ τ[ῇ]ν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέ-  
 [α]ς τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον· Βοηθήσω π[α]ντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυ-  
 νατόν, ἕαν τι[ς] ἦι ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Θετταλῶν ἐπὶ πολ-  
 [έ]μωι ἢ τὸν ἄ[ρ]χοντα καταλύει, ὃν εἴλοντο Θετταλοί, ἢ  
 [τ]ύραννον καθ[ι]στῆι ἐν Θετταλίαι· ἐπομνύναι δὲ τὸν  
 20 [ρ]όμιμον ὅρκον· ὅπως δ' [ἄ]ν καὶ Θετταλοὶ ὁμόσωσι τῇ π-  
 [ό]λει, ἐλ[ί]εσθαι [τ]ὸν δῆμον πέντε ἄν[δ]ρας ἐξ[ῆ] Ἀθηναίων ἁ-  
 πά[ν]των, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐξορκώ-  
 [σ]ουσιν Ἀγέλαον τ[ὸν] ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς [π]ολ[ε]μάρχους καὶ  
 τοὺς ἱπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέ[α]ς καὶ τοὺς ἱερ[ο]μνημόνας  
 25 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους[ς] ἄρχοντας, ὁπόσοι ὑπέ[ρ] τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Θε-  
 τταλῶν ἄρχουσ[ι]ν, τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον· Βο[η]θήσω παντὶ σθέ-  
 νει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ἕαν τις ἦ[ι] ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ-  
 [η]ναίων ἐπὶ πολέμωι ἢ τὸν δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Ἀθηνα-  
 [ίων]· ὁμόσαι δὲ [κ]αὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐν  
 30 τ[ῇ] βουλῇ τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦ[ν]τας Ἀθήνησιν τὸν αὐ[τ]ὸν ὅ[ρ]κον·  
 τ[ὸν] δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ ἐξείν[αι] κ-  
 [αταλ]ύσασθαι [μή]τε Θετταλοῖς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων μήτε Ἀ-  
 [θη]ναίοις ἄνευ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ [τῶν] Θετ-  
 αλῶν. ἐπαι[ν]έσαι δὲ Ἀγέλαον τὸν ἄρχοντα [καὶ] τὸ κ- (?)  
 35 οινόν τῶν Θετταλῶν, ὅτι εὖ κ[α]ὶ προθύμ[ω]ς ἐ[π]οιοῦν πά-  
 ντα περὶ ὧν αὐ[τ]ο[ῖ]ς [ἡ] πόλις ἐπ[η]γ[α]γέ[α]το· ἐπαίνεσαι  
 [δὲ καὶ] τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν [Θ]ετταλῶν τοὺς ἡκ[ο]ν[ο]ν[τας] κ[αὶ] κ-  
 [αλέ]σαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένισ[ι]ς [τὸ]ν πρ[ο]ν[ο]ν[ο]ν [εἰς] αὐρι-  
 [ον]. τῇ[ν] δὲ στ[ῆ]λ[ην] τῇ[ν] προδ[ί]ς Ἀλ[έ]ξανδ[ρο]ν κ[α]θ[ε]λ[εῖν]  
 τοὺς  
 40 [ταμί]ας τῆς θεοῦ [τὴν] π[ερ]ὶ τῆς [σ]υμμαχίας· τοῖς δὲ πρέσ-  
 [βεσι] δ[ο]ῦναι τὸν [ταμί]αν τ[ὸ]ν [δῆμ]ου εἰς ἐφόδια Δ δραχ-  
 [μὰς] ἑκάστωι· τῇ[ν] δὲ συμ[μα]χίαν τῇ[ν]δε ἀναγράψαι τὸν  
 [γραμ]ματέα τῆς β[ου]λῆς ἐν [σ]τήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι

[ἐ]ν ἀκ[ρο]ο[πι]όλει, ἐ[ῖ]ς [δ]ὲ [τῇ]ν ἀναγραφῇν τῆς [σ]τ[η]λῆς  
δοῦνα-

45 [ι] τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δή[μου] ΔΔ [δρ]α[χμ]άς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ [Θ]ε[α]λ-  
η[τ]ον [τ]ὸν Ἐρχιέα ο . αστο[ν]τα [ἄρ]ιστα [κα]ὶ [πρ]άττοντα δ  
[τ]ι ἀν δύνηται ἀγα[θὸ]ν τῶ[ι] δῆμ[ω]ι τῶ[ι] Ἀ[θη]ν[α]ί[ω]ν κα[ὶ] Θε-  
τταλ[ο]ῖς ἐν τῶι τεταγμέ[ν]ωι.

Alexandros the tyrant of Pherai (B. C. 368-358), a man of cruel and unscrupulous character, was intent upon enlarging his power at the expense of the autonomous Thessalian towns. The Thessalians accordingly applied to Thebes, and the Thebans in repeated campaigns succeeded in checking and finally curbing his ambition, until he was forced in B. C. 364 to restore the Thessalian towns and content himself within Pherai, becoming a dependent ally of Thebes (Diod. xv. 80; Plut. *Pelop.* 26 foll.). He had previously enjoyed the alliance of Athens (Diod. xv. 71), as our inscription testifies. The new alliance estranged him from his old friends, although the stelè on which his alliance with Athens was commemorated remained standing for the time (line 39). The death of Epameinondas in B. C. 362 freed him from fear of Thebes, and he at once manned a fleet and proceeded to harass the maritime allies of Athens (Diod. xv. 95; Polyain. vi. 2; Dem. l. *in Polycl.* 4). The Thessalians, whose freedom he was again assailing, apply to Athens for an alliance against their common enemy. After their deliverance from Alexandros, the Thessalians had elected a chief archon of their league (Agelaos); under him were four polemarchs, commanding the troops of Pelasgiotis, Hestiaiotes, Thessaliotes, and Phthiotis respectively. The hieromnemones cannot (from the place and manner in which they are mentioned) be the general council of the Thessalian league, but are rather two representatives sent to Delphoi by the Thessalians. The phrase εἶναι ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ (*fn.*) means 'he will be acting a proper part,' 'doing his duty' (cp. nos. 60, l. 48; 140, l. 63). For Exekestides, the mover of this decree, see no. 100, l. 18.

## 124.

Honours from Ilion to Menelaos the Athenian: about  
B. C. 360.

On a stone found at Ilion (Hissarlik). Schliemann, *Arch. Ztg.* xxix (1872), p. 170, no. 2; *Trojanische Alterthümer*, p. 12, pl. xxix; Michel, *Recueil*, 523; Dittenberger, *Satura philol. H. Sauppe obl.* p. 43 sq.; W. Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 280, note 1; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 103.

Ἰλιεῖς ἔδοσαν Μενελάωι  
Ἀρραβαίου Ἀθηναίωι, εὐερ-  
γέτηι γενομένωι αὐτῶν  
καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν  
5 [ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῶι γενομένωι,  
[προ]ξένωι καὶ εὐεργεσίαν.

This inscription belongs probably to about B. C. 360. Ilion had been seized by fraud by Charidemos (Dem. xxiii. 154) from Artabazos satrap of Daskyleion. Artabazos besieged him. Charidemos appealed to Athens, with the result that Menelaos (see no. 117), who was now an Athenian citizen, negotiated the peace between Charidemos and Artabazos, and in doing so secured the independence of Ilion.

## 125 [98].

Amphipolis taken by Philip; the friends of Athens  
banished: B. C. 358-357.

Found at Amphipolis, now at Athens: the text is from Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2008, and (more correctly) Le Bas, *Voyage Archéol.* pt. ii. 1418; comp. H. Sauppe, *Inscr. Mac. quatuor*, Weimar 1847; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 551; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 10; Swoboda, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xvi (1893), 55; Michel, *Recueil*, 324; Dittenberger, *Syloges*<sup>2</sup>, 113; U. Köhler, *Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 485; O. Hoffmann, *die griech. Dial.* iii. p. 10, no. 14.

Ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ Φί-  
λωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέ-  
α φεόγειν Ἀμφίπολι-  
ν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀμφ-  
5 ιπολιτέων ἀειφνγί-  
ην καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς

παῖδας, καὶ ἥμ' πον ἀλί-  
 σκωνται πᾶσχειν αὐ-  
 τοὺς ὥς πολεμίους καὶ  
 10 νηποινεὶ τεθνάναι.  
 τὰ δὲ χρήματ' αὐτῶν δ-  
 ημόσια εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἐπ-  
 ιδέκατον ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἀ-  
 πόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Στρ-  
 15 υμόνος. τοὺς δὲ προστ-  
 άτας ἀναγράψαι αὐτ-  
 οὺς ἐ' στήλην λιθίνην.  
 ἦν δέ τις τὸ ψήφισμα  
 ἀναψηφίζει ἢ καταδ-  
 20 ἔχεται τοῦτους τέχν-  
 ηι ἢ μηχανῇ ὁττωιοῦ-  
 ν, τὰ χρήματ' αὐτοῦ δημ-  
 όσια ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς  
 φεογέτω Ἀμφίπολιν  
 25 ἀειφυγίην.

What pretext Philip had for attacking Amphipolis in B.C. 358, after evacuating it in 359, we are not told. Probably during the interval there were two parties within the town, the one desiring a closer union with Athens as of old, the other leaning towards Philip: and he was ready enough to take advantage of the faction. At the commencement of his attack envoys were sent to Athens for help, who arrived just as the Athenians were returned from the Euboian expedition (Dem. *Olynth.* i. 8), and their names were Hierax and *Stratocles*. Philon must have been another prominent friend of Athens; for upon the capture of the city Philip τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἐφυγάδευσε (Diod. xvi. 8). Since the decree is passed by the δῆμος, Amphipolis must have retained its constitution, though probably in name only, after the war was over. The dialect is Ionic: for Amphipolis, though an Athenian colony (Thuk. iv. 102: B.C. 437), was yet surrounded by Ionic neighbours, and from the first the Attic element in the town was comparatively small (Thuk. iv. 106). The influence of Sparta must have made it still

smaller (Dem. xiii. *Phil. Ep.* 21). The term *προστάται* is used in a sense analogous to that of *πρυτάνεις* in the Athenian constitution.

## 126 [99].

Honours to Athenodoros the Condottiere at Kios:

B. C. 360-356.

Copied by Le Bas in the courtyard of the Metropolitan Church at Ghemlik (Kios): entire except on the left. *Voyage Archéol.* vol. iii. pt. v. 1140; Michel, *Recueil*, 539. Comp. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* vii (1883), p. 161; Judeich in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* ii. p. 2043; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1900, pp. 95, 96. We have not been able to consult Kersten, *de Cyprio*, p. 34.

- [Ἐπὶ ἐπιμῇ]νίου Φρούρου, Ἀθηναίωνος εἰκάδι,  
 [ἐν κυρία] ἐκκλησίαι, Κόνων ἐπρυτάνευε, γνώμη  
 [τῶν ἀρχόν]των καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀθηνόδωρον  
 [ἐπαυνέσαι τὸν Ἀθ]ηναῖον, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον  
 5 [περὶ τὴν πόλ]ιν τὴν Κιανῶν καὶ εὐεργέτην· στήσαι  
 [δ' αὐτοῦ εἰκό]να χαλκῇν, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις  
 [προεδρίαν κ]αὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ εἰσπλοῦν καὶ ἔ(κ)πλοῦν  
 [ἀσυλὴ καὶ ἀσ]πονδεὶ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ·  
 [ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδ]ικῇ Ἀθηνόδωρον ἢ τοὺς ἐγγόνους τοὺς  
 10 [Ἀθηνοδώ]ρου βοιωθεῖν αὐτοῖς Κιανούς παντὶ σθένει  
 [κατὰ τὸ δυ]νατὸν καὶ ταχ[ὺ δρ]αμοῦσι αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι.

Athenodoros is described sometimes as a citizen of Imbros (Plut. *Phok.* 18, &c.), sometimes as an Athenian (Dem. xxiii. *in Aristocr.* 12); possibly therefore he belonged to a kleruch-family in Imbros. He was one of those *condottieri*, like Charidemos of Oreos and others, whose adventures are a characteristic of Greek history in the fourth century. We hear of him as serving under the Persian satraps (Polyain. v. 21), and later as the general and kinsman by marriage of Berisades, one of the claimants to the Thracian throne upon the death of Kotys in B. C. 360 (Dem. *loc. cit.*); in this position he assisted Athens to regain possession of the Thracian Chersonese, B. C. 358 (Grote, ch. 80 *fin.*). Isokrates, in an oration of B. C. 356 (viii. *de Pace*, 24), speaks of Athenodoros as having 'founded a city' in Thrace. To the same period belongs his encounter

with Charidemos narrated by Aineias, *Poliorh.* 24. This was the zenith of his career, and our inscription is of this date: he was then strengthening his position by alliances with neighbouring states. Waddington compares the similar alliance (no. 138) between Hermias of Atarneus and the Erythraians. Later on we hear of Alexander imprisoning Athenodoros and others at Sardeis, and releasing him at the request of Phokion (*Plut. loc. cit.*; *Aelian, V. H.* i. 25). We may conjecture Konon (l. 2) to have been the son of some admirer of the Athenian admiral, and so named after him. For the form *βοιηθεῖν* cp. ed. i, p. 303, line 68, and Meisterhans, *Gramm. der att. Inschr.*<sup>2</sup>, 35 foll., 45 foll.

## 127.

Honours from Arkesine in Amorgos to Androtion:

B. C. 357-356.

Στοιχῆδόν. On a marble stelè found at Kastri (Arkesine). Radet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xii (1888), p. 224, no. 1; Michel, *Recueil*, no. 377; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 112.

Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ  
 Ἀρκεσινέων ἐπειδὴ Ἀνδροτίων ἀνὴρ  
 ἀγαθὸς γέγονε περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀρ-  
 κεσινέων, καὶ ἄρξας τῆς πόλεως οὐδέ-  
 5 α τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ξένων τῶν ἀφ-  
 ικνουμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐλύπησε, κ-  
 αὶ χρήματα δανείσας ἐν καιρῷ τῇ π-  
 όλει τόκον οὐδένα λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, κ-  
 αὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπορού-  
 10 [σ]ῃ τῇ πόλει παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προαναλώσας ἐ-  
 π' ἐξόδῳ τοῦνιαντοῦ κομισάμενος οὐ-  
 δένα τόκον ἐπράξατο, καὶ τῇ πόλιν ἐ-  
 λάττω χρήματα δαπανᾶν δώδεκα μυαῖ-  
 15 ε, καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους  
 οἷς περιέτυχεν ἐ[λύ]σατο· στεφανῶσαι  
 Ἀνδροτίωνα Ἀνδρωνος Ἀθηναίου χρυ-



σῶι στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων δραχ-  
 μῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐν-  
 20 οίας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀρκ-  
 εσινέων, καὶ ἀναγράψαι πρόξενον κα-  
 ἰ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀρκεσιν-  
 έων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους· καὶ εἶναι  
 αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων . . . ἐπει . . .  
 25 . αἱ [τοῖς] συμμάχοις ἔδοξ[εν . . . . .]  
 . . . . . σ . αὐτῶ - - -

The date of this inscription is fixed with much probability by its apparent reference to the state of things prevailing during the Social War (B. C. 357-355) and its resemblance to no. 130. From both inscriptions we see that the old rule against the placing of Athenian governors and garrisons in allied cities had broken down. Androtion, who is best known by Demosthenes' twenty-second oration (written for his accuser in B. C. 355-354), was a *βουλευτής* in B. C. 356-355, therefore this inscription probably belongs to the previous year. The reasons for the gratitude expressed by the people of Arkesine show what opportunities of enriching themselves, not to say of extortion, were enjoyed by Athenian officials. Cp. the note on Aristophan in no. 118, p. 235.

## 128 [104].

### Athenian Expedition to Euboia; settlement of the Euboian cities: B. C. 357-356.

Στοιχηδόν. C. I. A. ii. 64, and iv (2), p. 22; comp. *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 1877, pp. 209 foll.; Foucart, *Rev. arch.* xxxv. 1878, p. 227 sq.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 109; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 178, no. 181 (xlv). The original is at Athens.

The earlier part of the inscription (containing the terms of the agreement) is lost: but the date is recovered by the mention of the archon Agathokles. On the expedition itself see Diod. xvi. 7, and Grote, ch. 86, where all the references will be found. The expedition set forth in the archonship of Kephisodotos (B. C. 358-357), and this inscription implies that

the Thebans had now been expelled from Euboea, and envoys had been interchanged between Athens and Karystos, Eretria, Chalkis, Hestiaia respecting the revision of their contract; it does not appear that these Euboian cities had actually deserted Athens on this occasion, but some change seems to have become necessary. By *σύνεδρος* is meant a 'deputy' representing an allied city at the confederate synod. Menon was also a general in B. C. 361, see Dem. I. *in Polycl.* 12. The name of Chabrias was deliberately erased, perhaps owing to his having fallen into disgrace. For when he fell at Chios he was no longer strategos (Schäfer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*, i<sup>2</sup>. p. 168).

----- [προσαγαγεῖν τοὺς πρέ-  
σβεις εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκ]κ[λ](λ)[ησίαν· τὸ δὲ ψήφι-  
σμα τόδε ἀναγράφαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατ-  
ὰ πρυτανείαν· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοῦναι] εἰς τὴν [στήλην τὸν τα-  
5 μίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα] ἀν(α)λ[ι]σκο[μένων τῷ δή-  
μῳ. πρέσβεις δὲ εἰς Εὐβοίαν πέμψα]ι ἀποληψο[μένους τοὺς ὄρ-  
κους παρὰ τῶν Εὐβοίων (?). ὁμόσαι δὲ α]ὐτοῖς τοὺς τ[αξιάρχους κ-  
αὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὴν βο]υλ[ή]ν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ [τὸν δῆμ-  
ον τὸν Καρυστίων καὶ [τοὺς πρ]έσβ[ει]ς τῶν Καρυστίων [καὶ τ-  
10 ὸν σύν]εδρον καὶ καλέ[σαι αὐ]τοὺς ἐ[πὶ] ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυ[τανε-  
ῖον] εἰς αὐριον· ἐπαινέ[σαι] δὲ καὶ Μ[έ]νωνα τὸν στρατηγ[ὸν κ-  
αὶ] τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς πεμφθ[έ]ντας εἰ[ς] Κάρυστον καὶ καλέ[σα-  
ι] ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτ[α]νείον ἐς [α]ὐριον, ἀποδοῦναι δ[ὲ] α-  
ὐ]τοῖς καὶ ἐφόδια τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δή[μ]ου Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν [ε-  
15 ἰ]ς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ[ι]σκομένω[ν τῷ] δήμῳ· ἀποδοῦ[ν-  
αι] δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου κα[ὶ] τοῖς πρέ[σ]βεσ[ι] τοῖς πρεσβεύ-  
[σ]ασι εἰς Ἐρετρίαν καὶ Χαλ[κ]ίδα καὶ ἐς Ἑ[σ]τίαιαν ΔΔ δραχμ-  
ὰς ἐκάστωι· ἀποδοῦναι δὲ κα[ὶ] τοῖς τὴν σ[υ]μμαχίαν πρεσβε[ύ]-  
σασι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου Δ δ[ρ]αχμὰς [ἐκάστωι. Ο]-  
20 ἴδε ὥμοσαν· ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐπ' Ἀγαθ[ο]κλέους ἄρχοντος· οἱ σ]-  
τρατηγοὶ [Χα]βρίας [Αἰ]ξω(νεύς), Χά[ρ]ης Ἀγγελ(ῆθεν), Ἰφικράτης ?]  
Ῥαμνού(σιος),  
Μένων Ποτά(μιος), Φιλοχάρης Ῥαμνού(σιος), - - - ]ς,  
Ἐξηκεστίδης Θορίκι(ος), Ἀλκί[μ]αχος Ἀναγυρ(άσιος)], - - -  
Διοκλῆς Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

## 129.

## Restoration of the Temple at Delphoi: B. C. 356-355.

Στοιχῆδόν. The beginning of a long inscription on two slabs of stone found at Delphoi. E. Bourguet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx (1896), pp. 197 foll.; Michel, *Recueil*, 591; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 140; Th. Reinach, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xx. pp. 251 foll.; Baunack, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.* no. 2502; Pomtow, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1897, pp. 92 foll.; B. Keil, *Hermes* 32 (1897), pp. 399 foll. See Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. p. 330.

- I. 'Επὶ Ἀργυλλοῦ ἀρχοντος, ὀπωρινᾶς πυλαίας, πὰρ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν λοιπὰ χ[ρ]ήματα τοῖς ναο|ποιοῖς· τάλαντα ἑκατι, μυαῖ δεκατέτορες, στατήρες δέκα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπεδώκαμες, ἐπιστειλάντων τῶν ναοποιῶν πάντων, τῇ ἡρινᾷ πυλαίαι, ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου ἀρχοντος, ἀργύριον διδόμεν· |
- II. 'Ἐδωκε ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν, ἐπὶ Ἀριστοξένου ἀρχοντος, 5 μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου, βουλευόντων || Καλλίππου, Σακεδάλλον, Ἀργύλου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, Ἀρισταγόρα μὲν ἀφισταμένου τᾶς ναοποιίας, | Νικομάχου δὲ τοῦ Μενεκράτεος ναοποιέοντος, ἐπιμνηνέοντος δὲ Φιλολάου Λακεδαιμονίου, | Λαφάρεος Φωκέος, Πασίωνι ἰσχεγᾶον μνᾶς δέκα, στατήρας ἑπτὰ, ὀβολοὺς ἑννέα. Ἀρμοδίῳ | χαλκεί δεσμῶν μνᾶς ἕξ, στατήρας δεκάπεντε. ἄλλο ἔδωκε ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν ἐπὶ Ἀριστοξένου ἀρχοντος, μηνὸς Ἡραίου, ὀπωρινᾷ πυλαίαι, ναοποιέοντος Νικομάχου Δελφοῦ, 10 βουλευόντων || Καλλίππου, Σακεδάλλον, Ἀργύλου, τοῖς ἐργῶναις κελεύοντων πάντων τῶν ναοποιῶν, | παρῶντων δὲ ναοποιῶν τῶνδε· Νικομάχου Δελφοῦ, Νικοτέλεως Ἀργείου, Κλεοδώρου Ἀργείου, | Ξευοτίμου Σικυνωίου, Δαμοφάνεως Κορινθίου, Νικοδάμῳ ξύλων ποτὶ τὰ μαχανώματα μνᾶς [ἕξ]. Πασίωνι ἄλλο τοῦ ἰσχεγᾶου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου μνᾶς δέκα, στατήρας τρεῖς, ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς. | Νικοδάμῳ, Πασίωνι λατομίας μνᾶς τριάκοντα τέτορας 15 στατήρας ἑκατι ἕξ. Πραξίωνι, || Ἀριστάνδρῳ λιθαγωγοῖς μνᾶς δεκατέτορας, στατήρας δέκα. Κλεινίαι σκαπέτων στατήρας | ἑκατι τέτορας, ὀβολοὺς ὀκτώ. Ἀριστίῳ λίθων ἀπαγωγᾶς στατήρας δέκα. τῷ μαγίρῳ | τρία ἡμιωβέλια. ταῦτα ἀπελογιξάμεθα ποτὶ πάντας τοὺς ναοποιοὺς καὶ ἐγένετο | κεφάλωμα τάλαντον μυαῖ ἑκατι δύο, στατήρες ἑκατι ἕξ, ὀβολοὶ ἑννέα ἡμιωβέλιον. |

III. Μετὰ τὸν λογισμόν, παρέοντων τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπέταξαν  
 20 τοὶ ναοποιοὶ πάντες τῇ πόλει τῶν || Δελ[φῶν] ἀργύριον δόμεν  
 πο[τ]τὶ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἐγ Κορίνθωι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν τοῖς μὲν ναοποιοῖς  
 εὐθὺς | μνα[s] τέτορας· τοῦτο δὲ ἐδόθη Λαβῶται, Δαμοφάνει  
 Κορινθίοις, Ξενοτίμωι Σικωνίωι. | ἄλλο ἐδώκαμεν Λαβῶται,  
 Δαμοφάνει Κορινθίοις, Ξενοτίμωι Σικωνίωι μνᾶς δέκα. | ἄλλο  
 Νικόμαχον ἀπεπέμψαμεν φέροντα εἰς Κόρινθον τοῖς ναοποιοῖς  
 μνᾶς τέτορας. | κεφάλωμα τοῦ ἔλαβον μετὰ τὸν λογισμόν οἱ  
 25 Κορίνθιοι ναοποιοὶ καὶ ὁ Σικωνίος μνᾶς || δεκαόκτω. |

IV. [Ἀπὸ] τούτου ἀνάλωμα· μαχανώματος Χαιρόλαι μνᾶς τέτορας.  
 βολίμου εἰσφορᾶς δραχμαὶ τρεῖς | [ῥ]ιμβέλιον. πὸτ τὸ μαχά-  
 νωμα λίθων τομᾶς Θεογένει δραχμαὶ πέντε. ἀγωγᾶς τούτων  
 Ἀγάθωνι δραχμαὶ | ἑπτὰ. βολίμου στάσιος Σατύρῳ δραχμά.  
 τριγλύφων δυνάδεκα ἀγωγᾶς Χαιρόλαι μναὶ τρεῖς | στατήρες  
 ἐννέα. τοπέιου Ξένωνι μναὶ τρεῖς, στατήρες ἑκατὶ δύο. ἐπιστυ-  
 30 λίων ἑξ Χαιρόλαι || μναὶ ἑξ, στατήρες τριάκοντα. βολίμου  
 συνθέσιος ὀβολοὶ δέκα. πινακίῳ ὀβολοὶ τέτορες. |

V. Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοξένου ἄρχοντος, πυλαῖαι ἡρινᾶι, ναοποιοὶ οὐ  
 συνήλθον. οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Ἰερίνου ἄρχοντος, πυλαῖαι ὀπωρινᾶι καὶ  
 ἡρινᾶι, οὐ συνήλθον· οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Νίκωνος ἄρχοντος, πυλαῖαι  
 ὀπωρινᾶι, | ναοποιοὶ οὐ συνήλθον.

The accounts follow for the years succeeding down to  
 B. C. 326-325 or later.

The Delphic temple was perhaps destroyed by the earthquake of B. C. 373 (Strabo, viii. p. 384; Diod. xv. 48, 49, &c.; see p. 216). The board of *ναοποιοὶ* occupied with the restoration of the temple was an international one, and their duty was to supervise the disbursement by the Delphic council of the funds contributed by the various Greek states. Unlike other boards of *ναοποιοὶ*, which had the general management of the temple affairs, the Delphic board was concerned only with the work of building. The board assembled at the ordinary autumn and spring meetings of the Amphiktyony. In the interval the work was superintended by the Delphic members of the board and by those others who remained in residence for that purpose (*ἐπιμνηεύειν*). The present quotation covers

the time from the autumn meeting in the archonship of Argilios down to autumn B.C. 349. During this time the work was considerably interrupted, doubtless by the war. No work seems to have been done until July in the archonship of Aristoxenos (fixed to B.C. 351-350 by a later passage in this inscription).

I. In hand in the year of Argilios (not necessarily the year immediately before that of Herakleios, B.C. 352-351, but probably before the war, and therefore B.C. 356-355): 20 tal. 14 min. 10 stat. In the Delphic system, 35 staters or 70 drachms were reckoned to the mina. Orders to begin work were given by the *naopoioi* (those absent signifying their consent by letter—*ἐπιστειλάντων*) in the year of Herakleios (spring 351).

II. Year of Aristoxenos B.C. 351-350. Expenditure on mortar or some kind of brick-clay (so Keil explains *λοχέγδου*), cranes and other engines, digging foundations (*σκαπέτων*), quarrying, importing stone and removing unsatisfactory blocks, cooking the meals of the workmen, &c. The stone (see III) came largely from the neighbourhood of Korinth.

III. Appropriation for the works at Korinth: 18 minae.

IV. Expenditure of the said appropriation, on the crane, lead (*βόλιμος* = *μόλιβος*), shaping and bringing stones for the base of the crane, bringing triglyphs (carved at Korinth?), cost of tackle (*τοπείον*), epistyle-blocks, tablets for keeping the accounts, weighing and running in (or packing for transport?) the lead, 18 minae 2½ obols. An excess of 2½ obols over the sum granted.

V. From spring B.C. 351 to autumn B.C. 349 the *naopoioi* did not meet, owing doubtless to the war; Diod. (xvi. 39. 8) describes the invasion of Phokis by the Thebans (the last of the series of events grouped under the year B.C. 352-351, and therefore somewhat later).

## 130 [103].

The Social War; garrison maintained in Andros: B. C. 356

Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 62; ep. iv. (2), p. 22; Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* 393; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 111; Michel, *Recueil*, 600. Στοιχηδόν, except l. 6.

- Ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέου[s] ἄρχο[ντος ἐπὶ τῇ]-  
 s Αἰγυῖδος ἐνάτης πρυτα[νείας],  
 ἡὶ Διόδοτος [Δ]ιοκλέους Ἀ[γγεληθ]-  
 εν ἐγραμμάτευεν· ὁγδόῃ τῇ[s] πρυ-  
 5 τ[α]νείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπ[ε]ψή[φισε]  
 Διότι[μ]ος Οἴ[ν]αι(ος). ἔδοξε τῇ βου[λή] καὶ τῷ δή[μ]ωι·  
 Ἡγήσ[αν]δρο[s] εἶπεν· ὅπως [ἀ]ν Ἀνδ[ρο]-  
 s] ἐ[ῖ] σ[ᾶ] τῷ δή[μ]ωι τῷ Ἀθη[να]ίων [κα-  
 ῖ] τῷ δή[μ]ωι τῷ Ἀνδρίω[ν] καὶ ἔχ[ωσ]-  
 10 ιν οἱ φρουροὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀ[νδρω] μισ[θό]-  
 ν] ἐκ τῶν συντάξεων κ[ατὰ τὰ] δόγμα-  
 τ[α] τ[ῶ]ν συμμάχων καὶ μὴ κα[τὰ] ἀλ[ή]θει-  
 αι ἢ φυλακῇ, ἐλέσθαι στρα[τ]ηγὸν ἐ-  
 κ τῶν κεχειροτονημένων· [τ]ὸν δὲ α-  
 15 ἱ[ε]ρ[ε]θέντα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [αὐτῶν].  
 εἰσπράξαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγ ν[ή]σων χρῆ-  
 ματα Ἀρχέδημον τὰ ὀφ[ειλόμενα τ]-  
 οῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν Ἀνδρωι  
 καὶ παραδοῦναι τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ  
 20 ἐν Ἀνδρωι, ὅπως [ἀν οἱ] στρατιῶται  
 ἔχ[ωσι] μισ[θόν] - - - -

The decree is dated in the 9th prytany of Agathokles' year, i. e. about May 356. No wonder that early in the Social War Athens (with the approval of the synod of the league, κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶν συμμάχων,) had placed a garrison at Andros; for Andros commanded the Kyklades and Euboia. The stationing of a garrison and archon in Andros would in ordinary circumstances have been a breach of the terms of the confederacy (see no. 101, l. 22). The difficulty was to maintain the garrison: they were demanding their arrears of pay, and were inclined to levy requisitions upon the Andrians. Archedemos, one of the ten generals, is selected to see that the garrison is paid out of the συντάξεις of the islands (see no. 118, § 1). In l. 8 εἰ, as commonly, for ἡ.

## 131 [109].

Alliance of Athens with the kings of Thrace, Paionia,  
and Illyris against Philip: B. C. 356.

Στοιχῆδόν. A broken stelè, discovered at Athens: Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. pp. 405 foll., no. 66b; cp. Kumanudes in *Ἀθήναιον*, 1876, p. 172; Dittenberger, *Syloges* 2, 114; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 188, no. 187 (xlviii). The restorations in ll. 9, 10, 15-17, 30, 33, 34, so far as not elsewhere published, are due to Dr. Wilhelm.

Diodoros, xvi. 22, mentions the alliance of the three kings against the aggressions of Philip: κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τρεῖς βασιλεῖς συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὃ τε τῶν Θρακῶν καὶ Παιόνων καὶ Ἰλλυρίων. οὗτοι γὰρ ὄντες ὁμοροὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, καὶ τὴν αὖξῃσιν ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ Φιλίππου, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι προηγημένοι, κοινῇ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ὑπέλαβον ῥᾷδως αὐτοῦ περιέσσεσθαι. διόπερ ἀθροίζόντων τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐπιφανείς ἀσυντάκτοις καὶ καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. He does not give their names, nor mention their brothers, nor their alliance with Athens: for these facts we are indebted to the inscription. Coins however of king Lyppeios (whose name is written Λύκκειος or Λύκπειος) and Ketriporis are known: see B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 207, 241. Probably these kings, like Potidaia (Dem. iv. *Philip.* i. 35), found Athens but a broken reed to trust in. The news of their submission to his general Parmenion reached Philip at the same time with the news of Alexander's birth, and the victory of his horse at Olympia (Plut. *Alex.* 3). This decree is dated July 356.

§ 1. [Γ]ραμματεὺς Λυσίας Λ[υ]σ[. . . ου Πιθεύς].  
 Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Κετρίπορ[ω τὸν Θραῖκα καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ἀδελφόνς καὶ πρὸς Λύππειον τὸν [Παίονα καὶ πρὸς Γρά-  
 βον τὸν Ἰλλυρίον. Ἐπὶ Ἑλπίνου ἄρχο[υτος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποθω-  
 5 ντίδος] πρῶτης πρυτανείας, ἐνδεκ[άτη τῆς πρυτανείας]  
 τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισ[ε]ν Μνήσαρχ[ος . . . . .] ἔδοξε  
 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Καλλισθέ[υ]ης εἶπεν· ἀγαθῇ τύ-  
 χῃ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, δέ[χ]εσθ[αι μὲν τὴν συμμαχία]-  
 ν [ἐφ' οἷς . . .] ὅνιος λέγει ὁ ἀδελφός ὁ Κετριπόριδος τὸν ἀ-  
 10 δε[λφόν τὸν αὐτοῦ συνθέσθαι καὶ τὸν [ἐσταλμένον παρὰ τοῦ]  
 δήμον [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Κετριπόριδι [καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ Λ]-

υππεύωι τῷ Παίῳ]νι καὶ Γράβωι [τῷ Ἰλλυριῳι, τοὺς δὲ προ]-  
 ἔδρους [οἱ ἂν λάχωσι π]ροεδρ[εύειν ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησί]-  
 αν προσ[αγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸ]ν δῆ[μον . . . ὕνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τ]-  
 15 ὃν Κετρι[πόριδος καὶ Πεισιάνακτα καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας τ]-  
 ἀς ἡκούσ[ας παρὰ Λυππείου καὶ Γράβου καὶ . . . . . τὸν]  
 π(α)ρὰ Χά[ρητ]ο[s] ἦκοντα - - -

(Here ten or twelve lines are broken or lost almost entirely.)

- - τὸ ἀρ[γύρι]-  
 ον ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Κετριπόριον καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς]ς ὅτι εἰ[σιν ἄ]-  
 νδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τ]ὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί]ω[ν]· ἐπαινέσ[αι δ-  
 ἔ καὶ . . . ὕνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἡ]κο[ντα π]αρ[ὰ] Κετριπόρ-  
 30 [ιος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, καὶ] καλέσ[αι ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς  
 [τό πρυτανεῖον εἰς] αὔριον· ἐπαινέσ[αι δὲ καὶ Πεισιάνακ]-  
 τα καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυταν]εῖον εἰς αὔριον-  
 [ν· καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ἡ]κοντας παρὰ τ-  
 [ῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων εἰς τ]ὸ π[ρ]υ[τ]αν[εῖον] εἰς αὔριον· ἐὰν δέ  
 35 [του ἐνδεές ᾗι τὸδε τ]ὸ ψῆ[φ]ισμ[α], τ[ῆ]ν [β]ουλ[ὴν] κυ[ρίαν] εἶναι.  
 [πρέσβεις ἡιρηνται]· Λυσικράτης Οἰν[αῖ]ος· Ἀντίμαχος  
 [ . . . . . Θρά]σων [Ἐρ]χιεύς.

For ἐὰν δέ του ἐνδεές, &c., see no. 164, line 37. Thrason is known from Aischin. *in Otes.* 138.

§ 2. Next follows the Athenian form of oath :

[Ὅμνῷ Δία καὶ Γῆν] καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ποσειδ[ῶ] καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ  
 [Ἄρην, φίλος ἔσομαι] Κετριπόρι καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς Κ-  
 40 [ετριπόριος καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμ[ήσ]ω μετὰ Κετριπόρ-  
 [ιος τὸν πόλεμον τ]ὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀδόλως παντὶ σθένει  
 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, κ]αὶ οὐ προκαταλύσομαι τὸν πόλεμον ἂν-  
 [ευ Κετριπόριος κ]αὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον, κ]αὶ  
 τᾶλλα χωρία ἃ κατ[έ]χε[ι] Φίλιππος συνκα[τ]α[σ]τ[ρ]έψομαι μ[ε]-  
 45 τὰ Κετριπόριος κ]αὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ Κρ[η]νίδ[ας] συνε[ξ]αι-  
 [ρήσω μετὰ Κετριπ]όριος καὶ τ]ῶν [ἀδ]ελφῶν καὶ ἀποδώσω τα - - -

Κρηνίδες was the mining centre, the possession of which brought Philip a revenue of over 1000 talents, and the site where he founded Philippoi. The name of Ketriporis' brother is perhaps Μονούριος.



## 132 [105].

Neopolis in Thrace appeals for Athenian protection  
against Philip : B. C. 356-355.

Στοιχιδόν. The stone is at Athens. Köhler, *Hermes*, vii. 164; *C. I. A.* ii. 66 (op. p. 406); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 115; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. p. 193, no. 191 (xlix); Perdrizet, *Rev. d. Ét. anc.* 1900, p. 263. The stela is broken at bottom, but surmounted by a relief (see Schöne's *Griechische Reliefs*, p. 23, pl. vii. 48): Athena extending her right hand to a female figure, over whom is inscribed ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ. This is doubtless the Virgin (Artemis) of the Thracian Neopolis; see *supra*, no. 75 and Berlin *Beschreibung d. ant. Münzen*, ii. p. 103).

[ 'Επ' ] 'Ελπίνου ἄ[ρχοντος.

N ] ε ο π ο λ ι [ τ ῶ ν.

Δη]μοσθένους τοῦ Θεοξ[έ]νου,

Δι]ο[σκ]ουρίδου τοῦ Ἀμει[ψίου.

5 'Επὶ τῆς [Ἀντι]ο[χίδος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, ἣν Ἀνσ[ί]ας Ἄνσ . . . .  
.. Πι[θ] (θ)εὺ[ς] ἐγρα[μ]μάτευεν· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφ[ι]ξε Ἀριστο-  
γε[ί]τω[ν] Φ[η]γ[α]εῦ[ς].

[ 'Εδοξεν (τῇ) βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ· Πολύευκτος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ π[ρ]έ[σ]βεις τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν λέ[γ]ουσι Δη[μο]σθ[έ]νης καὶ Διοσκ-  
10 ουρίδης, ἐψήφ[ι]σθαι τῇ [β]ουλῇ[ι] τοὺς μὲν προ[έ]δρους οἱ ἂν τυγ-  
χάνωσι π[ρ]οε[δ]ρέον[τε]ς [ε]ἰς τὴν πρῶτ[η]ν ἐκ[κ]λησίαν προσαγα-  
γεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τ[ὸ]ν δ[η]μ[ο]ν καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέ-  
λλουσι, γνώμην δὲ [ξ]υμ[β]άλλ[ε]σθαι[ι] τῆς βουλῆ[ς] εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτ-  
ι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπειδ[ὴ] ὁ δ[η]μ[ο]ς[ι] ἐψηφισ - - - ] *the rest is broken, but the fragments refer to the making of an alliance and the sending of envoys from Athens for the purpose. The decree closed with a grant of honours to the Neopolitan envoys: see the heading.*

The Thracian Neopolis had at an earlier date shown loyalty to Athens, B. C. 410 (no. 75). Philip had captured Amphipolis in the first half of B. C. 357; in the following year Pydna and Potidaia shared the same fate. Already Philip was preparing to found the city named after himself, with an eye to the gold mines of that region (see l. 45 of the preceding inscription). No wonder that Neopolis turned in despair to Athens (see Grote, ch. 86 *fin.*). Observe that the mover of this decree, Polyeuktos, was the well-known political ally of Demosthenes (Plut. *Dem.* 23, &c.). The decree is dated '9th prytany of Elpines' year,' i. e. early summer of 355 B. C.

## 133 [101].

Decrees of Mylasa concerning Maussollos, Satrap of  
Karia: B.C. 367-366, 361-360, 355-354.

Found at Mylasa; now in the Louvre: *Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéol.* pt. v. 377-9; *cp. Büchh, C. I. G.* 2691 c, d, e, and vol. ii. p. 473; *Froehner, Inscr. gr. du Louvre*, 96; *Dittenberger, Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 95; *Bechtel, Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 248; *Michel, Recueil*, 471; *O. Hoffmann, Die griech. Dial.* iii. p. 79, nos. 176 (B) and 177 (C); *Judeich, Kleinas. Stud.* p. 236. The three decrees are on one stone.

A. 39th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 367-366):—

- Ἐτεὶ τριηκοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ Ἀρταξέρξευς βασιλεύ-  
οντος, Μανσώλλου ἐξαιθραπέοντος, ἔδοξε  
Μυλασεῦσιν, ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης, καὶ ἐπε-  
κύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· ἐπεὶ δὴ Ἀρλισσις Οὐσσώλλου  
5 ἀποσταλὲς ὑπὸ Καρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα παρεπρέσ-  
βενσεν καὶ ἐπεβούλευσε Μανσώλλῳ, ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ  
τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ  
Ἐκατόμνῳ καὶ τοῖς προγόνους τοῖς τούτων, καὶ βασιλεὺς  
ἀδικεῖν καταγνοὺς Ἀρλισσιν ἐξημίωσε θανάτῳ,  
10 πρᾶξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μυλασέων περὶ τῶν  
κτημάτων ἐκείνου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς πατρίους·  
καὶ πρόσθετα ποιήσαντες Μανσώλλῳ, ἐπαρὰς  
ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τούτων μήτε προτιθέναι ἔτι  
παρὰ ταῦτα μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν· εἰ δέ τις  
15 ταῦτα παραβαίνοι, ἔξωλῃ γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν  
καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας.

B. 45th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 361-360):—

- Ἐτεὶ τετρωκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ Ἀρταξέρξευς  
βασιλεύοντος, Μανσώλλου ἐξαιθραπέοντος,  
ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν, ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης,  
καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· τοὺς Πελδέμῳ  
5 παῖδας παρανομήσαντας ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα  
τὴν Ἐκατόμνῳ, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαν-  
τος τῇ πόλιν τῇ Μυλασέων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ,  
ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τῇ πόλιν  
καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως· ἀδικεῖν δὲ κατα-  
10 γόνυτες ἐξημίωσαν δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ ἐπώ[λη]-  
σαν τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν δημοσίῃ, ἐκτῆσθαι κυρίως

τοῖς πριαμένοις· καὶ ἐπαρὰς ἐπο(ι)ήσαντο περὶ τούτων  
 μήτε προτιθέναι μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις  
 ταῦτα πα[ρ]αβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς  
 15 ἐκείνου π[άν]τας.

C. 5th year of Artaxerxes Ochus (B. C. 355-354):—

Ἐπει πέμπτῳ Ἀρταξέρξευ βα[σι]λεύοντος,  
 Μουσσώλλου ἐξαιθραπεύο[ν]τος· Μανίτα τοῦ  
 Πακτύου ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μουσσώλλῳ τῷ Ἑκατόμῳ  
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραύνδου, θυσίης ἐνιαυ-  
 5 σίης καὶ πανηγύριος ἐούσης, καὶ Μουσσώλλου μὲν  
 σωθέντος σὺν τῷ Διῷ, Μανίτα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην  
 λαβόντος ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ, ἔγνωσαν Μυλασεῖ[ς], παρη-  
 νομημένοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Μουσσώλλου τοῦ εὐερ-  
 γετέω, ἔρυναν ποιήσασθαι εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μετέ[σ]-  
 10 χεν ἢ ἐκοινώνησεν τῆς πράξιος· ἐλεγκθέντος (εἰς) δὲ  
 καὶ Θύσσου τοῦ Σύσκῳ καὶ κριθέντος συναδικεῖν  
 μετὰ Μανίτα· ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν  
 αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί, τὰ Μανίτα τοῦ Πακτύου καὶ Θύσσου  
 τοῦ Σύσκῳ προστεθῆναι Μουσσώλλῳ· καὶ τὰ  
 15 κτήματα ἐπώλησεν ἢ πόλις δημοσίῃ(ι), ἐπαρὰς  
 ποιησαμένη τούτων τὰς ὠνὰς τοῖς πριαμένοις  
 κυρίας εἶναι, καὶ μήτε προτιθέναι μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν  
 μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνε-  
 σθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας.

Ἐξαιθράπης is a more faithful transcription of the Persian title usually Graecized into σατράπης: Maussollos did not use the title of 'king,' although Strabo (xiv. 656) and Cicero (*Tusc.* iii. 31. 75) give it to him. The τρεῖς φυλαί are explained by Waddington as the three oldest and original Tribes of Mylasa: they formed a sort of *comitia curiata*, with the formal right of approving the acts of the ἐκκλησία. One of the tribes was called the Otorkondeis. Among the πρόγονοι of Maussollos (A, line 8) was Πιζώδαρος ὁ Μουσώλου named by Herod. v. 118. For the phrase ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ (C, line 7) compare Herod. viii. 89: Manitas had resisted with armed force, and had died fighting on the spot (αὐτοῦ). The people of Mylasa, who formed part of the Karian satrapy, though enjoying a certain form of independence, were evidently anxious to demonstrate their

loyalty to Maussollos. And naturally so, for in their city was the residence of the satraps until (about 367 B.C.) Maussollos removed it to Halikarnassos. At the same time the facts here recorded betray the existence of a violent and persistent party of opposition to his government. At Iasos a similar state of affairs existed, since we have an inscription (Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v (1881), pp. 491 foll.) recording the confiscation and sale of the property [τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Μανσώλλωι καὶ τῇ Ἰασέωι πόλει. Zeus Lambraundos or Labraundeus was one of the chief deities of Mylasa, and was worshipped at Labranda, a neighbouring village; he is represented, on the coins of the Karian dynasts of Mylasa, and elsewhere, holding a double axe (λάβρυσ) in one hand and a spear in the other.

## 134 [102].

## Honours to Maussollos at Erythrai: B. C. 357-355.

Στοιχηδόν. At Erythrai (Litri), on the Akropolis: Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* vol. iii. pt. v. 40; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 483; Bechtel, *Inscr. Ion. Dial.* 202; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 107; Michel, *Recueil*, 501; O. Hoffmann, *die griech. Dial.* iii. p. 47, no. 96; comp. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* v (1881), p. 503; Gäbler, *Erythrä*, p. 13; Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht*, p. 16.

- [Ἐδοξεν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
 δήμῳ· Μ[α]ύσσωλλο[ν] Ἐ[κ]κατ[όμνῳ]  
 Μυλασ[έα], ἐπεὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς [ἐγέ-  
 νετο π]ερὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἐρυ-  
 5 [θραίῳ], εἶναι ἐδεργέτην τῆς  
 [πόλ]εως καὶ πρόξενον καὶ πολί-  
 [την], καὶ ἔσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν  
 [καὶ] πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀσυλεῖ  
 καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ, καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ  
 10 πρ[ο]εδρίην· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἀδ-  
 [τῶ]ι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, στήσαι δὲ αἰ[δ]ό-  
 οῦ κ[αὶ] εἰκόνα χαλκὴν ἐν τῇ ἀ-  
 [γορῇ], καὶ Ἀρτεμισίης εἰκόνα  
 [λιθί]νην ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, καὶ  
 15 [στεφ]ανῶσαι Μ[α]ύσσωλλον μὲν  
 [ἐκ δαρ]εικῶν πεντήκοντα, Ἀρτε-  
 [μισίην] δὲ ἐκ τριήκοντα δαρεῖ-

κῶν, γράψαι δὲ τὰτα ἐ' στήλην  
καὶ στήσαι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων

20 [ἐπιμεληθ](ῆ)να[ι δὲ τοὺς ἐξεταστας].

Maussollos the satrap of Karia has been immortalized by the tomb reared in his honour by his widow Artemisia. The *Mausoleum* was discovered by Mr. Newton in 1857, and the most interesting remains of its sculpture are now in the British Museum, including a statue of Maussollos (see Newton, *History of Discoveries at Halikarnassos, &c.; Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; A. H. Smith, *Catal. of Sculpture* (1900), ii. pp. 65-135). Maussollos aimed at the subjugation of Ionia, and with that view made an attempt upon Miletos: Lucian, *Dial. Infer.* 24; Polyain. *Strateg.* vi. 8. Our decree reveals that he had purchased the favour of Erythrai by some great benefits, doubtless with the same intent. The date is probably between 357 and 355. Rhodes, Chios, and Kos revolted from Athens in the Social War: see Dem. *de Rhod. lib.* 191; Diod. xvi. 7. Erythrai may have been implicated in this revolt, and required the protection of Maussollos. The representation of *v* by *o* in diphthongs is common in Ionic inscriptions of the fourth century B. C.

### 135.

#### Contributions to the Cost of the Sacred War:

B. C. 355-351.

In the Museum at Thebes (no. 100). Kumanudes, *Ἀθηναίων*, iii. pp. 479 foll.; R. Meister, *Bezz. Beitr.* v (1880), pp. 192 foll.; Larfeld, *Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* 309; Cauer, *Del.* 353; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 705; Michel, *Recueil*, 617; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 120; and *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 2418; Blass, *Rh. Mus.* xxxvi (1881), 609.

[Τοῖς χρεῖματα συνεβ[άλουθο ἐν τὸν πόλεμον, | τὸν] ἐπο[λέμιον]  
Βοιωτοὶ πε[ρὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ Βελφοῖς | π]ὸτ' τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ  
ἱερὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ Π]ουθίῳ.

5 || Ἀριστίνωνος ἄρχοντος

Ἀλυζῆται - - - (a sum of money) | πρισιγέιες Χάρονι Δάδωνος,  
'Αριστο . . . . . | Ἀνακτοριεῖες τριάκοντα μνᾶς πρι[σιγέιες]  
. . . . . | Φόρμω, Ἄρκος Τειρεῖος. | Βυζάντιοι χρυσίῳ Λαμψα-  
10 κανῷ στ[ατεῖρας] || ὀγδοεῖκοντα πέτταρας, ἀργυρίῳ Ἀτ[τικῷ  
δρα]χμὰς δέκα ἑξ' σύνεδροι Βυζαντίων [ἐνιξάν] | τὸ χρυσίον

Κερκίνος Είροτίμω, Ἀγ . . . . . | Δηλοπτίχω, Διωνύσιος  
 15 Εἰραίωνος. | Ἀθανόδωρος Διωνυσίω Τενέ[διος], || πρόξενος Βοιωτῶν,  
 χει(λ)ίας δ[ραχμάς]. |

Νικολάω ἄρχοντος

Ἀλυζ[ῆοι - - - | ἄλλας τριάκοντα μνᾶς εἰ[νιξαν]. | πρισιγείες  
 Ἀλυζαίων Θεο . . . . . | [Ἀ]λεξάνδρου, Δίων Πολυλ[άου].

20 || [Ἀ]γεισινίκῳ ἄρχοντος

Βυσζάντιοι [συνεβ[ά]λ]ονθο ἄλλως πεντακατίως στατεῖρα[s χρυ]-  
 σ[ί]ως Λαμψακανῶς ἐν τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῷ | ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ  
 25 Βελφοῖς ἐπολέμιον Βοιωτ[οῖ]· συνέδροι εἰνιξαν Σῶσις Καταλχον,  
 [Π]αρμενίσκος Πυράμου.

In the year 351 the Thebans were obliged to seek pecuniary help from the Great King (Diod. xvi. 40). In all probability then the Greek allies had begun to fail in their contributions, so that this inscription belongs to the earlier years of the war. Byzantion was in alliance with Athens until the beginning of the Social War (B. C. 357-356), but then seceded and made an alliance with Thebes which is mentioned by Demosthenes in 340 B. C. (*Phil.* 3. 34). Alyzeia and Anaktorion, towns of Akarnania, are represented by πρισιγείες, envoys, while Byzantion has συνέδροι, representatives at the federal council. l. 11 εἰνιξαν = ἤνεγκαν. l. 14 Athanodoros' contribution must have been a private one, as Tenedos was an ally of Athens.

### 136 [110].

Relations of Leukon, ruler of Pantikapaion, with the  
 Arkadians : B. C. 393-353.

Found at Kertch ; now at St. Petersburg : beautifully inscribed στοιχηδόν.  
 Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2103 e ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 126 ; Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.*  
 1889, 183 ; Latyshev, *Inscr. ant. orae septentr. Ponti Eux.* ii. 4 (cp. p. 290).

Ἐδοξεν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιω, Λεύκωνα

[τὸν Σαρ]ύρου Παντικαπαῖταν

[στεφανῶσαι or some similar honour].

This decree probably belongs to a date soon after the constitution of the Arkadian league in 369 B. C. Then, as now, a large part of Europe was fed by the harvests of the Crimea and South of Russia. Hence the importance of cities like

Olbia and Pantikapaion, and the kingdom of the (Kimmerian) Bosporos, over which Leukon ruled B.C. 393-353 or 348. (Grote, ch. 98; Clinton's *Fasti H.* ii. Append. ch. 13, on the kings of Bosporos; A. Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*,<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 262 foll.; Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyc.* iii. 757 foll.) His relations with Athens we shall elsewhere notice (see no. 140). Here the Arkadians, inland people as they were, vote honours to Leukon, doubtless for favouring them with corn-supplies, and their decree (in its native Aiolic) is inscribed at Pantikapaion, whether by command of Leukon, or by Arkadian mercenaries resident there. Cp. *Dem. in Leptin.* 29 foll. It is unlikely that the Arkadians here mentioned can be the inhabitants of the insignificant Kretan town Arkadia.

## 137 [108].

## Athenian monopoly of ruddle from Keos:

B. C. 360-350.

Found on the Akropolis. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 546; Michel, *Recueil*, 401; see Böckh, *Staatsh.*<sup>3</sup> ii. p. 312. Comp. Köhler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst.*, *Ath. Abth.* ii (1877), 150; Pridik, *de Cei ins.* pp. 107 foll.; Ziebarth, *Hermes*, 32 (1897) pp. 612 foll.

5 § 1. *Fragment of the decree of Karthaiia*: -- [K]αρθαιεύσ[ι  
ἐ]ψ[η]φίσ[θαι] -- ].

§ 2. *Decree of Koresos*: [Θεογ]ένης εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι [τ]ῇ  
βο[υ]λῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Κορησίῳ· περὶ ὧν λέγουσι οἱ παρ'  
10 'Αθη[ν]αίων, εἶναι τῆς μίλτου τὴν ἐξ[α]γωγὴν 'Αθήναζε - - - -  
- - - κ[α]θάπερ πρότερον ἦν· ὅπως δ' ἂν κύρια ἦ[ι] τὰ ψηφίσματα  
[ - - - - 'Αθηναίων κ[α]ὶ Κορησίων τὰ περὶ τῆς μίλτου, ἐξάγειν  
ἐμ. πλοίῳ ὧ[ι] ἂν - - ἀποδείξωσιν, ἐν ἄλλῳι] | δὲ πλοίῳ μηδελί,  
ναύλλον δὲ τελεῖν ὀβολὸν τοῦ ταλάντου ἐκάστου τοῖς ναυκλήροις  
τοῦ[ν]s ἐργαζομένους· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλῳι πλοίῳ ἐξάγῃ, ἐνοχον εἶναι  
15 τῷ νόμῳ. . . || ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψηφίσμα ἐς στήλην λιθίνην  
καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐν τῷ νεῷ τ[ο]ῦ 'Απόλλωνος, καὶ τὸν νόμον καθάπερ  
πρότερον εἶχ[ε] κύριον εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξιν εἶν[αι] πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀστυνόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους δοῦνα[ι] τὴν ψήφον περὶ αὐτῆς  
τριάκοντα ἡ[μ]ερῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον· τῷ δὲ φήναντι ἢ ἐνδείξαντ[ι]  
- - - τῶν ἡμ[ι]σ[τ]ε[ων]· ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος ἦ ὁ ἐνδείξας, ἐὰμ μὲν τῶν

20 ἐξαγόν[των ἦι, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καὶ τὰ τρ]|| (ι) α μέρη ἔστω αὐτῶι. ἐὰν  
 δὲ ἄλλου τι νὸς ἦι, ἐλεύθερος ἔστ[ω καὶ - - - εἶν]αι [δὲ] καὶ ἔφεσιν  
 'Αθήναζε καὶ τῶι φήναντι καὶ τῶι ἐνδεί[ξαντι· ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο  
 ψηφίζωντα]ι 'Αθηναῖοι περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς μίλτου, κύρια εἶναι κατα-  
 κομ[ισθέντα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα· τε]λ[εῖν δὲ τῆμ πεντηκοστὴν τοῖς πεντη-  
 κοστολόγοις τοὺς ἐισάγοντας· καλέσαι δὲ | κ]αὶ ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ  
 πρυτανεῖον τοὺς 'Αθηναίους εἰς αὔριον. ||

The πεντηκοστή was the harbour duty of 2 per cent. on imports, payable at the Peiraeus. For ἔφεσις, 'appeal,' see Lipsius, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1898, p. 158.

25 § 3. Decree of Iulius: [Ἐδ]οξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ τῶι  
 'Ιουλιητῶν, περὶ [ὧν οἱ παρ' 'Αθηναίων λέγουσι, δεδ[όχθ]α]ι τῇ  
 βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ τῶι 'Ιουλιητῶν, εἶναι τῇ[ν ἐξαγωγὴν τῆς μίλτου  
 'Αθήναζε], ἄλλοσε δὲ μηδαμῇ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας· ἐὰν δέ τις  
 ἄλλοσε ἐξάγῃ, δημόσια εἶναι τ]|| ὃ πλοῖον καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῶι  
 πλοίῳ· τῶι δὲ φήν[αντι ἢ ἐνδείξαντι εἶναι τὰ ἡ]|| μίσηα· ἐὰν δὲ  
 30 δοῦλος ἦι ὁ μὲνύσας, ἐλεύθερος ἔστ[ω καὶ - - - τῶν - - - χρημ]|| ἄ-  
 των μετέστω αὐτῶι· τὸν δὲ ἐξάγοντα ἐκ Κέω μίλτον ἐξ[άγειν ἐμ πλοίῳ  
 ὧι ἂν - - - ἀποδ]|| εἰζῶσιν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐξάγῃ πλοῖῳ ἐνοχον  
 [εἶναι - - - ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλ]|| λο ψηφίζωνται 'Αθηναῖοι περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς  
 μίλτου - - - - - κύρια εἶ[ναι] αἱ ἂν 'Αθηναῖοι ψηφίζωνται· ἀτέ-  
 λειαν δὲ εἶναι - - - - - |ιου ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ 'Ερμαιῶνος· καλέσαι  
 35 δὲ τοῦ[s 'Αθηναίους ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖ]|| ον· τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξιν  
 εἶναι 'Αθήνησι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς [ἐνδεκα, ἐν 'Ιουλιῶι δὲ εἰσαγωγέας εἶν]αι  
 τοὺς προστάτας· ὁποσοὶ δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἐξάγειν [παρὰ τὸν νόμον, τῶν  
 χρημάτων τὰ μὲν ἡ]|| μίσηα εἶναι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Ιουλιητῶν, τὰ δ'  
 ἡμίσηα [τοῦ φήναντος· ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψ]|| ῆφισμα [τ]ῆμ βουλῇ  
 καὶ καταθεῖν[αι] ἐν τῶι λιμ[ένι - - -].

§ 4. Names of the envoys dispatched by Athens to Keos: Οἷδε  
 40 ἡμέθησαν· Ἀνδρων ἐκ Κερα[μ]έων, Λυσια [- - - - -] || Φλυεύς,  
 Εὐφρόσυνος Παιανιεύς. |

These were decrees of three of the towns of Keos, renewing and making more stringent than ever the existing treaty which forbade the export of red-ochre from Keos except only to Athens (for the reasons for this stringency, see above, no. 118, pp. 233 f.). The fourth town Ποιήεσσα is not named, and perhaps it had no mines. Μίλτος (*rubrica*, ruddle) was largely used at



Athens, both as a drug, and as a pigment in statuary, architecture, painting, and writing. The *μάλτος* of Keos was the best, according to Theophrastos, *de lap.* 51-53, though Strabo (xii. p. 540) says the same of that which came from Sinope, and Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 31-33) of the Lemnian. Perhaps also the monopoly in importing Keian ruddle enabled Athens to have a monopoly in exporting the various manufactured pigments of which this was an ingredient. Köhler's date, determined by the characters, may be trusted.

## 138 [100].

Hermias of Atarneus; his treaty with Erythrai: about  
B. C. 350-345.

Στοιχιδόν. The stone, which was found at Erythrai, is in the British Museum: the text has been revised with the original. Le Bas-Waddington, vol. iii. 1536 a; Michel, *Recueil*, 12; Böckh, *Opusc.* vi. pp. 202 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 122; Bechtel, *Inscr. Ion. Dial.* 204; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xvi (1881), 197; Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 219.

- [ - - ἐὰν δὲ Ἐρυθραῖοι ἐκτιθ-  
 ῶνται τι ἐς] τὴν χώραν τῇ[ν Ἐ]ρμίου κ-  
 [αὶ τῶν ἐτ]αίρων πολέμου ἔνεκεν εἰ-  
 [ναι ἀτελ]ῆα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦτ(ω)ν  
 5 [γενόμεν]α, πλὴν ὅσ' ἂν τις ἀποδῶται  
 [τῶν δὲ πρ]ηθέντων τελείτω πεντηκ-  
 [οστήν. ἐ]πειδὴν δὲ εἰρήνη γένηται  
 [ἀπάγεσθ]αι ἐν τριήκοντα ἡμέραις·  
 [ἐὰν δὲ μ]ὴ ἀπάγῃται τελείτω τὰ τέλ-  
 10 [η. ἐκτίθ]εσθαι δὲ ἐπαγγέλλαντας δ-  
 [ικαίως]. εἶναι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῖαι καὶ το-  
 [ῖς ἐταί]ροις ἐάν τι βοῦ(λ)ωνται ἐκτ-  
 [ίθεσθα]ι κατὰ ταῦτά. ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἐρυ-  
 [θραίου]ς Ἑρμῖαι καὶ τοῖς ἐταῖροι-  
 15 [ς· ὁ δὲ ὄρ]κος ἔστω ὅδε· Βοηθήσω Ἑρμί-  
 [αι καὶ τ]οῖς ἐταῖροις καὶ κατὰ γῆν  
 [καὶ κατ]ὰ θάλασσαν παντὶ σθένει κ-  
 [ατὰ τὸ δυ]νατόν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτελ-  
 [ῶ κατὰ τ]ὰ ὁμολογημένα. ἐπιμέλεσ-  
 20 [θαι δὲ τοῦ]ς στρατηγούς. ὀρκῶσαι δ-

[ἐ ἀγγέλους ἐ]λθόντας παρ' Ἑ[ρ]μίου κ-  
 [αὶ τῶν ἐταίρ]ων μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶ-  
 [ν τῶν ἐν Ἑρυθρ]αῖς ἱεροῖς τελείοι-  
 [ς· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πα]ρέχειν τὴν πόλιν. ὁμ-  
 25 [οίως δὲ καὶ Ἑρ]μίου καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρ-  
 [ους ὁμόσαι δ]· ἀγγέλων βοηθήσειν  
 [Ἑρυθραίοις κ]αὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ  
 [θάλασσαν παν]τὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυ-  
 [νατόν, καὶ τὰ] ἄλλα ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ  
 30 [τὰ ὁμολογη]μένα. ὁμνῦναι δὲ θεοὺς  
 [τοὺς ὀρκίου]ς. γράψαι δὲ ταῦτα ἐ' στ-  
 [ήλην λιθίνη]ν καὶ στήσαι Ἑρυθραῖ-  
 [ους μὲν ἐς τὸ] ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης, Ἑ-  
 [ρμίου δὲ ἐς τ]ὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀταρνέως.

Hermias, the eunuch-slave who succeeded to the petty sovereignty of Atarneus and maintained his independence of the Persian dominion, owes his fame to the friendship of Aristotle, whose unique ode to Virtue was composed in memory of Hermias his benefactor. The facts of his life will be found in any Dictionary: the fullest account is given by Böckh on this inscription (*Kleine Schriften*, vi. 185). His league with the Erythraians belongs to the period of confusion just after the final crushing of the revolts of the satraps. In 345-344 he was treacherously captured and put to death by Mentor of Rhodes, who was appointed by the Great King to restore order in the western satrapies. The *ἐταῖροι* are 'comrades' of Hermias who commanded garrisons in towns belonging to his sway. The prospect of war explains the provision *περὶ τοῦ ἐκτίθεσθαι* (goods deposited in the territory of Hermias for safety's sake are not to be subject to import duty); cp. the Hierapytna and Priansos treaty, no. 172 (ed. 1). The phrase *τὰ ἐκ τούτων γενόμενα*, which answers to that in the Kretan treaty *τούτων οἱ καρποί*, must refer to the offspring of slaves or cattle so bestowed away. It appears that Erythrai was also independent of Persia: under Alexander and his successors it was equally favoured: see no. 164 (ed. 1), Letter of Antiochos Soter. L. 34: the shrine of Atarneus, the mythical king of Mysia.

## 138 a.

## Olynthian Refugees at Athens:

B. C. 348-347.

A fragment found on the Akropolis. Pittakis, *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* no. 3435; U. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 224; A. Wilhelm, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1900, pp. 524 foll.

- - - -  
 [περὶ ὧν οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἔδοξαν ἔννο-  
 μα ἱκετεύειν ἐν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἐν  
 τοῖς συμμάχοις, [ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχοι γε-  
 νόμενοι τ]οῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τ-  
 5 ὧν συμμάχων ἐκκπεπ[τωκότες εἰσὶν  
 ὑπὸ Φιλίπ]που καὶ ἀξιοῦ[σιν Ἀθήνησιν  
 ἀτέλειαν] τοῦ μετοικ[ίου, διαχειρο-  
 τουῆσαι τ]ὸν δῆμον αὐτ[ίκα πρὸς αὐτ-  
 οὺς εἰ δοκε]ῖ δοῦναι τοῖς ἐκπεπτωκό-  
 10 σιν Ὀλυνθί[ων τὴν ἀτέλ]ειαν τοῦ με-  
 τοικίου εἶτ[ε μή· ἐ]ὰν δὲ [δοκῇ αὐτῷ  
 διαχειροτο]ν[ή]σαντι διδόναι αὐτο-  
 ῖς τὴν ἀτέλειαν, τὸν μὲν [γραμματέα  
 τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράψ]αι ἐν σ[τηλῇ λιθίνῃ-  
 15 ῖ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὰ] ὀνόματα [αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι  
 φεύγουσι ἐκπολι]ορ[κ]ηθέν[τες ὑπὸ Φι-  
 λίππου· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀ]να[γ]ραφὴν τῆς στή-  
 λης κ.τ.λ.

The restorations, entirely due to the brilliant conjectures of Wilhelm, may be regarded as practically certain. Olynthos was captured by Philip in the autumn of B. C. 348. In the preceding year (that of the archon Kallimachos, 349-8) the Olynthians had become allies of Athens (Philochoros, Fr. 132, quoted by Dionysius Hal. *ad Ammaeum*, i. 9. 1); to this refers the phrase in lines 3, 4. The question on which a vote was to be taken by *διαχειροτονία* was evidently decided in the affirmative; for Theophrastos (quoted by Harpokration, s. v. *Ἰσοτελής*) refers to the granting of *ἀτέλεια* (evidently τοῦ μετοικίου) to Olynthos by the Athenians: *ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ πόλεσιν*.

ἅλαις ἐψηφίζοντο τὴν ἀτέλειαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ Ὀλυνθίοις τε καὶ Θηβαίοις. Wilhelm makes the very probable suggestion that the proposer of this motion was Demosthenes himself.

## 139 [112].

## Renewal of alliance with Mytilene : B. C. 347-346.

Στοιχηδόν. Found on the Akropolis. Waddington, in *Hermes*, iv. p. 426; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 109 and iv. (2), p. 36; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 125; R. von Scala, *Staatsvertr.* i. no. 203 (liii); A. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, i. p. 481.

Ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρχontos· [ἔδοξεν]  
τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι· Αἰγ[η]τὸς ἐπρυ]-  
τάνευεν, Λυσίμαχος Σωσιδήμου Ἀχαρνεν[ς ἐγραμμ]-  
άτευεν· Θεόφιλος Ἀλιμούσιου[ς ἐπεστά]-  
5 τει· Στέφανος Ἀντιδωρίδου Ἐ[ροιάδης]  
εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ πρ[έ]σβεις τ]-  
ῶν Μυτιληναίων καὶ ὁ ταμίαι[ς τῆς παρὰ]-  
λου, καὶ Φαῖδρος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐ[π]έστει]-  
λεν, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳι τὴν μὲν[φιλία]-  
10 ν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν [ὑ]πάρχειν [τῶι δήμ]-  
ῳι τῶι Μυτιληναίων [π]ρὸς [τ]ὸν δ[ή]μον τῶ-  
ν Ἀθηναίων [ἦν δι]έθεντο πρὸς ἀ[λλή]λας]  
αἱ πόλεις· τὰ δ[έ] χρήματα τὰ ἐκ [τῆς συντ]-  
άξεως [. . . . .]ο[ι]ς γιγνόμενα - -  
(the rest is mutilated).

It is remarked by Schäfer (*loc. cit.*), how neglectful the Athenians were—in spite of the warnings of Demosthenes—in maintaining their ascendancy in the Aegæan and the islands. The coast of Asia Minor was of course in the hands of satraps or of native princes dependent on the Persians. Hidrieus, brother and successor of Maussollos in Karia, had seized Chios, Kos, and Rhodes (Dem. v. *de Pace*, 25). In 353 there was an oligarchic party in power in Lesbos inimical to Athens (Dem. xv. *Rhod.* 19; cp. xiii. *Synt.* 8). Kammes of Mytilene (see Judeich, *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 295) is expressly called 'enemy of Athens' (Dem. xl. *adv. Boeot.* 37; a speech spoken in the very year of our inscription, B. C. 347-346, ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρχontos): Κάμμη τῷ τυραννοῦντι

Μυτιλήνης . . ὃς καὶ ὑμῖν κοινῇ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐχθρός ἐστιν. It seems that Phaidros later in the year had expelled Kammes, upon which the restored democracy renew their friendship with Athens. Envoys came from Mytilene, supported by a letter from Phaidros, and by the testimony of the 'Treasurer of the Paralos.' This last was an office of some distinction (Dem. xxi. in *Mid.* 172, 173), for, as the two state ships Salaminia and Paralos (like our Royal Yachts) were fitted out, not by the λειτουργία of individuals, but at the state expense, the ταμίας had the management of the sums voted for the purpose. The mover of this decree is Stephanos, the husband of Neaira, already known to us from no. 109.

## 140 [III].

Honours to Spartokos and Pairisades, joint kings of Bosphoros, and their brother Apollonios: B. C. 346.

Στοιχῆδόν. Discovered at Peiraieus; now in the National Museum at Athens. *Ἀθήναιον*, 1877, pp. 152 foll.; Schäfer, *Rhein. Mus.* 33 (1878), pp. 418 foll., p. 607 and 38 (1883), p. 310; *C. I. A.* iv (2), 109 b (p. 37); Dittenberger, *Sylloge*?, 129; Michel, *Recueil*, 98. Comp. Kohler, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* 3 (1878), p. 132; Hartel, *Att. Staatsrecht*, p. 96 (*Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1878, xci. pp. 112 foll.); Dittmar, *Leipziger Studien*, 13, pp. 174, 175; Panske, *ibid.* p. 58; Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221. For the bas-relief at the head of the inscription, see *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* v. pl. 5.

Σπαρτόκωι, Παιρισάδῃι,  
Ἀπολλωνίωι, Λεύκωνος παισί.

(Space of some eight lines vacant).

Ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχ[ι]οντο[s]  
ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυῖδος ὀγδό[η]ς πρυτ-  
5 α]ρείας, ἥι Λυσίμα[χ]ος Σωσιδῆ[μ]-  
ου Ἀχαρν[ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν, Θε[ό]-  
φίλος Ἀλιμύσιος ἐπεστάτ[η]ι,

Ἀνδροτίων Ἀνδρῶνος Γαργήτ[ρι]ος [εἰ]π[ε]ν· π[ε]-  
ρὶ ᾧ ἐπέστειλε Σπάρτοκος κ[αὶ] Παιρ[ισάδ]ῃ-  
10 σ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἦκοντ[ε]ς π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν ἀπ[α]-  
γγέλλουσιν, ἀποκρι[ν]ασθαι αὐ[τ]οῖς, ὅτι ὁ [δῆ]-  
μος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖ Σπάρτ[ο]κον καὶ Παι-  
ρισάδην ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγα[θ]οὶ καὶ ἐπ[αγ]-

- γέλλονται τῷ δήμῳ [τ]ῷ Ἀ[θ]ην[α]ίων ἐπιμε[λ]-  
 15 ἦσεσθαι τῆς ἐκ[π]ομπῆς τοῦ [σ]ίτ[ο]υ, καθάπερ ὁ  
 πατήρ αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖ[τ]ο καὶ ὑ[π]ηρετήσκειν π-  
 ροθύμῳς ὅτου ἂν ὁ δῆμ[ος] δ[έ]η[τα]ι, καὶ ἀπαγγ[έ]-  
 λλιν αὐτο[ῖ]ς τ[ο]ῦς π[ρ]έσβ[ε]ις, ὅ[τι] ταῦτα ποι-  
 οῦντες οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσ[ο]υσιν τοῦ δήμου το-  
 20 ῦ Ἀθηναίων· [ἐ]π[ε]ι δὲ [τὰ]ς δω[ρεὰ]ς διδόασι-  
 ν Ἀθηναίους ἅσπερ Σ[ά]ν[τ]ρος καὶ Λεύκων ἔδο-  
 σαν, εἶναι [Σ]παρτ[ό]κ[ω]ι [κ]αὶ Παιρισάδει τὰς δ-  
 ωρεὰς ἃς [ὁ δῆμ]ος ἔδωκε Σατύρῳ καὶ Λεύκω-  
 νι, καὶ στεφ[αν]οῦν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Παναθη-  
 25 ναίοις το[ῖ]ς μεγ[ά]λοις ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν  
 ἑκάτερ[ο]ν· [ποιε]ῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους το-  
 ῦς ἀθλοθέ[τα]ς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει Παναθηνα-  
 ῖων τῶν μεγ[ά]λων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου  
 τὸ πρότερον ἐψηφισμένον Λεύκωνι καὶ ἀνα-  
 30 γορεύειν, ὅτι στεφανοὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
 Σπάρτοκον καὶ Παιρισάδην τοὺς Λεύκωνος  
 παῖδας ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τ-  
 ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφ-  
 άνους ἀνατιθέασι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι,  
 35 τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεῶ ἀνατιθέναι το-  
 ῦς στεφάνους, ἐπιγράφοντας· “Σπάρτοκος  
 καὶ Παιρισάδης Λεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσα-  
 ν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ, στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ-  
 ου τοῦ Ἀθηνα[ῖ]ων” τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον διδόναι το-  
 40 ῖς ἀθλοθέταις εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τὸν τοῦ  
 δήμου ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα  
 τῷ δήμῳ με[ρι]ζ[ο]μένων· τὸ δὲ νῦν εἶναι παρ-  
 αδοῦναι τοὺς ἀποδέκτας τὸ εἰς [τ]οὺς στεφ[ά]-  
 νους ἐκ τῶν στ[ρ]ατιωτικῶν χρ[η]μάτων ἀναγ[ρ]-  
 45 άσαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα τῆ[ς]  
 βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι πλη[σ]-  
 ῖον τῆς Σατύρου καὶ Λεύκωνος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀν[α]-  
 γραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τριάκ[ω]-  
 50 οντα δραχμάς· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 Σῶσιν καὶ Θεοδόσιον, ὅτι ἐπιμελοῦνται [τῷ]-  
 ν ἀφικ[ν]ουμένων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Βόσπορον, [κα]-  
 ῖ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανε-

- ιον εἰς αὔριον· περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν [όφ-  
 εἰ]λ[ο]μένων τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς Λεύκωνος δ[πως  
 55 ἀ]ν ἀπολάβωσιν, χρηματίσαι τοὺς προέδ[ρους  
 οἱ] ἀν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ [τῇ  
 ὀγ]δόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, δ[πως ἀ-  
 ν] ἀπολα[β]όντες τὰ χρήματα μὴ ἐγκαλῶσ[ι τῷ  
 δ]ήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων· δοῦναι δ[ἐ τὰ]ς ὑπη[ρεσί-  
 60 α]ς ἀς αἰτοῦσι Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παιρις[άδης, τ-  
 οῦ]ς δὲ πρ[έ]σβεις ἀπογράψαι τὰ δνόμα[τα τῶν  
 ὑπ]η[ρεσι]ῶν ὧν ἀν λάβωσιν τῷ γραμμα[τεῖ τῇ-  
 ς β]ουλῇς· οὗς δ' ἀν ἀπογράψωσιν, εἶνα[ι ἐν τῷ]  
 τ[ε]τραγμένῳ ποιούντας ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι [ἀν δύνω]-  
 65 νται τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Λεύκωνος.

- § 2. *Rider proposed by Polyeuktes*: Π[ολύευκτ-  
 ο]ς Τιμοκράτους Κριωεύς εἶπε· τὰ [μὲν ἄλλα κ-  
 α]θάπερ Ἀνδροτίων, στεφανώσα[ι δὲ καὶ Ἀπολ]-  
 λώνιον τὸν Λεύκωνος ὅδ' ἐκ τῶ[ν αὐτῶν].

Already, on no. 136, we have noticed the importance to the Greeks of the corn-supplies of the Crimea, and have referred to the accounts of the Kingdom of Bosporos in Clinton, *F. H.* ii. app. ch. 13; Grote, ch. 98; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, iii. pp. 757 foll. The Kingdom, called by the Greeks Bosporos, had its capital at Pantikapaion (Kertch), and it extended on the west to Theodosia, which remained independent until it was annexed by Leukon I (Dem. xx. *in Lept.* 33), his father Satyros I having died while besieging it. (Harpokr. s. v. Θεοδοσία.) Nymphaion, once a tributary ally of Athens, situated between Bosporos and Theodosia, passed into the Bosporan dominion before the end of the Peloponnesian War, Gylon, the maternal grandfather of Demosthenes, being at the time a leading resident engaged in the corn trade, and apparently responsible for the loss of the city (Aischin. *in Ctes.* 171). On the east of the strait the extent of the dominion of the Bosporan kings at this time is somewhat uncertain; but their 'sphere of influence' must have been very wide. Satyros, who succeeded his father Spartokos, reigned B. C. 433-393. He was on very friendly terms with Athens (line 23; see Isokrates, *Trapezit.* 57); and

this friendship was carried still further by his son Leukon, apparently the greatest ruler of the dynasty, B. C. 393-353, or, more probably 348 (cp. Strabo, pp. 309, 310). His favours, and also the honours he received at Athens, are mentioned by Dem. xx. *in Lept.* 29 foll. The speech against Leptines was spoken B. C. 355. Our decree is dated in April 346, in the archonship of Themistokles, and repeatedly mentions the previous honours voted to Leukon. The mover is Androtion, against whom Demosthenes wrote a speech in B. C. 354. The 'sons of Leukon' are Spartokos, Pairisades, Apollonios; the last being omitted by Androtion, and only included in the *amendment* (§ 2). Spartokos and Pairisades succeeded their father, reigning jointly, as this inscription proves. Diodoros, xvi. 52, says that Spartokos died after five years of sole reign (in 348), and was succeeded by his brother: this is refuted by our inscription, although we may concede that his reign was short, and that Pairisades soon became sole king. Diodoros' mistake probably arose from his not knowing that the two brothers reigned together, and he has probably taken Spartokos' five years from Leukon's reign, which therefore we may assume extended to 348. This explanation has the advantage of bringing the date of the embassy recorded in this decree nearer to the date of Leukon's death.

The gold crown is to be given to the kings every fourth year; 'the year before the great Panathenaia' (line 27) in the first instance coincides with the very year of the decree. Crowns received from the people in this manner had to be dedicated to the goddess Athena, into whose treasury they were thus absorbed. The ἀποδέκται (l. 43) are to advance the requisite money out of the military fund *pro tem.*, the sum being considerable, 2,000 dr., and more than the ταμίαι τοῦ δήμου had in hand. Note the distinction of tense in διδόναι (the general rule) and παραδοῦναι (the present instance). The name of one of the envoys (l. 50) is connected with the city Theodosia. It appears that the envoys of Spartokos and Pairisades had come to request payment of a sum the Athenians owed them, perhaps for corn (ll. 53 foll.), and to enlist at Athens sailors to man the king's ships (ὕπηρεσίαι). The phrase εἶναι ἐν τῇ τεταγμένῳ is explained on p. 244. The third brother, Apol-



lonios (ll. 66 foll.), is not otherwise known: it is clear that he was not associated in the government. The mover of the rider is mentioned in Dem. xlii. *in Phaen.* 11 and xxi. *in Mid.* 139 with his father Timokrates, who himself was the object of Demosthenes' twenty-fourth oration.

## 141.

Fine imposed on the Phokians after the Sacred War:

B. C. 346 foll.

Found near the temple of Athena Kranaia near Elateia. P. Paris, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xi (1887), p. 326, no. 3; Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* iii. 110 and add. p. 211; Michel, *Recueil*, 592; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 141. Comp. E. Bourguet, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi (1897), pp. 322, 337.

Θεός. κατεβάλοντο Φωκείς τ-  
 à χρήματα ἐν Δελφοὺς Δ Δ Δ,  
 ἄρχοντος [Νικ]α[σι]βούλου [τ]ο-  
 [ϕ] Αισχ[ρ]ῶνος Μεδεωνίου, βρυτα-  
 5 [νεύοντ]ων Δελφῶν Ταραντίνου, 'Α - -  
 - - -, - - - - - os, 'Εγνμώνδα.  
 μάρτυρες Φωκέων 'Αγήσιππος,  
 'Α[ειμν]αστίδης (sic), Πλειστέας, Κλ-  
 εόνβροτος, Δελφῶν Πλειστέ-  
 10 [ας, - - -] τραπεζίτας.

The Phokians, after their surrender in B. C. 346, were condemned to restore the plundered treasures of the Delphic shrine in biennial instalments of 30 talents of silver. They owed more than 10,000 talents (Diod. xvi. 56. 6). The money was paid over before witnesses on either side and received by a banker (τραπεζίτης). Accounts found at Delphoi itself show that some abatement of the fine was made after a few years, and the instalments probably made annual. Thus in the archonship of Damochares (probably B. C. 339-338, at the earliest), ἐνδεκάτην καταφ[ο]ρὰν οἱ Φωκ[εῖς ἀπήνεγκαν] | τάλαντα δέκα (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* xxi. p. 337).

## 142.

Honours to Amyntas, son of Perdikkas III, from Oropos :  
Middle of Fourth Century B. C.

On a slab of marble, found in the hieron of Amphiaraios at Oropos. B. I. Leonardos, *Ephem. Arch.* 1891, p. 108, no. 51; Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 4251; O. Hoffmann, *die gr. Dial.* iii. p. 17, no. 27; Michel, *Recueil*, 201; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 123.

[Θεό]ς.

[Δρ]ίμων ἔλεξε· ἔδοξε

[τ]εῖ ἐκκλησίῃ· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει,

[Ἀ]μύνταν Περδίκκα Μακεδόν[α

5 πρ]όξενον εἶν Ὀρωπίων

[κ]αὶ εὐεργέτην. ἀτέλειαν δὲ

[ε]ῖν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου

καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίης

ἐνκτησιν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις.

There is a similar decree (Dittenberger, *Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 4250; *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 124; Michel, *Recueil*, 202) in honour of Amyntas, son of Antiochos, who after the death of Philip II fled to the Persian king, and was killed in Egypt soon after the battle of Issos. The son of Perdikkas III is called king of the Macedonians in an inscription from Lebadeia, and Dittenberger suggests that the word βασιλέα once stood where Μακεδόνα now stands over an erasure. This Amyntas was put to death by Alexander in B. C. 335, a fact which gives significance to his association with the son of Antiochos. For the form εἶν cp. no. 95, l. 3.

## 143.

Honours from Athens to Kleomis, tyrant of Methymna :  
about B. C. 345.

Στοιχηδόν. Two fragments found on the Akropolis. Nikitsky, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* x (1885), p. 57; Köhler, *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 48, no. 141; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 135.

- - - -

... κράτης κα . . . . .

- . . ν ὑπὸ τῶν λη[ιστῶν· ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ  
 βο[υλῇ, τοὺς π[ροέδρους, οἱ ἂν λάχωσ-  
 5 ιν] προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τῇ-  
 ν πρ[ώτην ἐκκλ[ησίαν, χρηματίσαι [πε-  
 ρὶ τ]ούτων, γνώ[μην δὲ ξυμβ]άλλεσθαι  
 [τῆς] βουλῆς εἰ[ς τὸν δῆμ]ον, ὅτι δοκεῖ  
 [τῇ β]ουλῇ, ἐπ[αινέσ]αι μὲν Κλέομιν  
 10 [Ἀπολ]λοδώρον [Μηθυ]μναῖον, ἐπειδὴ κ-  
 [αὶ το]ὺς ἀλόντα[ς ὑπ]ὸ τῶν ληιστῶν ἐλ-  
 [ύσατο] καὶ ποιεῖ [δ τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθὸ-  
 [ν τὸν δῆμ]ον τὸν Ἀ[θ]ηναίων καὶ εἶναι  
 [αὐτὸν πρὸ]ξενον [κ]αὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτ-  
 15 [ὸν καὶ ἐκγόν]ου[ς τοῦ δῆ]μου τοῦ Ἀθην-  
 [αίων - - -]

Kleom(m)is is mentioned as a ruler in Methymna about 346 or 345 B. C. in Isokrates, *Epist.* vii. 8, and is perhaps the same as the 'Kleomenes' of whom Athenaios (x. pp. 442 foll.) records, on the authority of Theopompos, that he took drastic measures against the vicious customs of his subjects. Isokrates (or the writer of the letter) also praises highly the government of Kleomis; his prudence, as we see from this inscription, led him to cultivate the friendship of Athens, some of whose citizens he had evidently ransomed from brigands.

#### 144 [113].

**Encroachments of Philip upon his neighbours; Arybbas the expelled king of the Molossoi received at Athens: B. C. 343 (P).**

Στοιχηδόν. Found in 1840 on the Akropolis. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 115; cp. Rangabé, *Ant. Helléniques*, 388; A. Schäfer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, ii. 424 foll.; Sauppe, *Inscr. Mac. quatt.* pp. 17 foll.; Reuss, *Rh. Mus.* 36 (1881), p. 161; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 138; Michel, *Recueil*, 99.

§ 1. *The beginning is lost; this is part of a προβούλευμα:—*

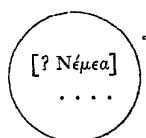
- - - [ἐπειδὴ - - ἡ πολιτ]-  
 εἰα ἡ δοθ[εῖ]σα [τῷ πατρὶ κα]-  
 ἰ τῷ πάππῳ κα[ὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δ]-

ωρειαι ὑπάρχ[ο]υσ[ι καὶ α]-  
 5 ὑτῶι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνο[ι]ς [κα]-  
 ἰ εἰσι κύ(ρ)μαι· ἐπιμε[λ]εῖσθαι]  
 δὲ Ἀρύββου ὅπως ἂμ μηδ[ὲν ἄ]-  
 δικῆται τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἀε-  
 ῖ βουλευούσαν καὶ τοὺς στ-  
 10 ρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἀεὶ στρατη-  
 γοῦντας καὶ ἐάν τις ἄλλο-  
 ς πον Ἀθηναίων παρατυγχά-  
 νει· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι πρόσοδο-  
 ν καὶ πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς  
 15 δῆμον ὅταν δέηται, καὶ τοῦ-  
 ς πρυτάνεις οἱ ἂν πρυτανε-  
 ῦωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως  
 ἂν προσόδου τυγχάνει· ἀνα-  
 γράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 20 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ-  
 ς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κα-  
 ταθεῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς  
 δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ-  
 ης δότω ὁ ταμίης τοῦ δήμου  
 25 ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη-  
 φίσματα μεριζομένων τῶι  
 δήμῳ· καλέσαι δὲ Ἀρύββαν  
 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυταν-  
 εῖον ἐς αὔριον· καλέσαι δὲ  
 30 καὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀρύββου ἦκου-  
 τας ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτα-  
 νεῖον ἐς αὔριον· χρηματί-  
 σαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων [ᾧ]-  
 ν Ἀρύββας λέγει.

§ 2. Decree of the people approving the προβούλευμα:—

τὰ μὲν ἄλλ-  
 35 α καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐ[ἂν δ]έ  
 τις Ἀρύββα[ν] β[ι]αίῳ θ[ανά]-  
 τῳ ἀποκ[τε]ίνῃ ἢ τῶν π[α]θ-  
 ῶν τινὰ τῶν Ἀρύββου, εἴ[ναι]

τὰς αὐτὰς τιμω[ρ]ίας αἵπερ  
 40 κ]αὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσ[ιν]  
 Ἀθηναίων· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δ]-  
 ἔ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγού[s οἱ ἀ]-  
 ν στρατηγ[ῶ]σι ὅπως Ἀρ[ύββα]-  
 s καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ [κομί]-  
 45 σονται τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν [πατρ]-  
 ώαν.



(Underneath the three crowns is a fragment of relief, representing a four-horsed chariot, with a winged Victory alighting upon it.)

Alketas king of the Molossoi, who joined the new Athenian alliance in 377 B. C. (see no. 101), left two sons, Neoptolemos and Arybbas (see Pausan. i. 11. 1; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, table iii). The mention of Neoptolemos' name in no. 101 together with his father's would show that he was the elder son, and associated already in the kingdom by his father. On the death of Alketas however the succession was disputed, and we find Arybbas and Neoptolemos dividing the kingdom between them, Arybbas being married to his brother's daughter Troas. Neoptolemos died early (certainly before 357 B. C.) leaving a son and daughter, Alexandros and Olympias; these were brought up in the house of their uncle Arybbas, who now reigned alone. Anxious to extend his influence, Arybbas secured Philip of Makedon for his niece's hand, and so gave Philip an opportunity of aggression which he was not slow to use (Justin. vii. 6). First of all he insisted on taking the child Alexandros under his own charge (Justin. viii. 6), an interference referred to by Demosthenes (*Ol.* i. 13, and *Schol.*)—and as soon as the youth was twenty years of age Arybbas was expelled and Alexandros made king as Philip's

puppet. This happened probably in 343 or 342 B. C. Arybbas fled with his two sons, Alketas and Aiakides, the latter being afterwards the father of the famous king Pyrrhos. Our inscription shows that Arybbas was welcomed at Athens, on the strength of the friendship of Athens with his father Alketas (no. 101) and grandfather Tharypas, who had been educated at Athens. Arybbas was probably never restored, but lived for a long time in exile. The exiled king takes the opportunity of recording at the foot of the slab his victories at the games. On the provision about the *πρυτάνεις* in ll. 14 foll. see no. 40, p. 66.

An Andromacha ἑξ Ἀπείρου and her husband Arybbas are mentioned in an inscription from Epidaurus; the names show that we have to do with a member of the Molossian princely house, but the relationship to our Arybbas is obscure. (Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* iii. p. 41; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 803, ll. 60 foll.)

## 145 [114].

**Struggle between Athens and Philip for the Thracian Chersonese; Envoys from Elaius at Athens: B. C. 340.**

Found at the Propylaea. Στοιχιδόν. Curtius, *Hermes*, iv. 407; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 116; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 145; Michel, *Recueil*, 101; U. von Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxii (1887), p. 242, note 3.

- [Ἐπὶ] Νικομάχου ἀρχο[ντος, ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Π]ανδιονίδος ἐβδόμης [πρυτανεί-  
 α]ς, ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρ[υτ]-  
 ανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισ[ε]-  
 5 ν Ἀριστόμαχος ἐξ Ὀίου· Ὀνήσιππο-  
 [ς] Ἀραφῆνιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἔδοξ-  
 εν τῷ δήμῳ· Ἰππόστρατος Ἐτε[α]ρ-  
 χίδου Παλληνεὺς εἶπεν· εἶναι κα-  
 ῖ τοῖς Ἐλαιουσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπ[ερ]-  
 10 ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐψήφισται τοῖς Χερρ[ονη]-  
 σίταις, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Χά[ρητα]  
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ [τρόπ]-  
 ωι τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἂν ἔχοντ[ες] Ἐλα-  
 ιούσιοι τὰ ξαυτῶν ὀρθῶς κ[αὶ] δικ[-

· 15 αἰὼς οἰκῶσιν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Χ]-  
ερρονήσῳ, καὶ καλέσαι τοὺς Ἑλα]-  
ιουσίου ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς [τὸ πρυ]-  
τανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

It was essential to her safety for Athens to retain her hold upon the Hellespont, and so secure her corn-supply from the Euxine. The Chersonese had been an ancient possession of Athens from the days of Miltiades; and in 353 B. C., after the capture of Sestos by Chares, and again under Diopceithes in 343 B. C., fresh kleruchs were sent out (Grote, ch. 87 and 90; Schäfer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, i. 445; ii. 451). These are the Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν Χερρονήσῳ of our decree. We are told in the *Argument of Dem. de Cherson.* that all the towns in Chersonese (except Kardia, which was in the hands of Philip) received the settlers with good grace—glad perhaps of any help against Makedon. As however Diopceithes was not supported with money from Athens, and had to pay and feed his troops as he could, there might naturally be complaints made to Athens against him and his kleruchs. This decree enjoins that Chares shall take care that the interests of Elaius shall be respected in the same way as had been provided for the other towns of the Chersonese. Chares was afterwards replaced by Phokion in the relief of Byzantion (Grote, ch. 90; Schäfer, *ibid.* ii. p. 512). It appears from the fact that the envoys of Elaius are invited ἐπὶ δεῖπνον and not ἐπὶ ξένα that they had received the Athenian citizenship. On the circumstances connected with this decree see the speeches of Demosthenes, *de Cherson.*, and *Philippic* iii.

## 146 [116].

Tenedos rewarded (for help at Byzantion?): B. C. 340.

· Ζροχηδόν. Two fragments found on the Akropolis. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 117; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 146; E. Szanto, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xiv (1889), pp. 145 foll.; Wilhelm, *Hermes*, 24 (1889), p. 136, who also fills the gaps in ll. 4 and 5 from *C. I. A.* ii. 193 (as restored by Th. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1900, pp. 158 foll.) and 75 compared with iv (2), 110 c.

[Ε]πὶ Θεοφράστου ἀρχοῦντος ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Κε]κροπ[ις

ἐπρυτάνευε]ν\* δ(γ)δό[ηι τῆς πρυτανείας· τ]ῶν προέ[δρων ἐπ]εψή-  
φισεν Σ[. . . . . | . .]· ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἄσπετος  
5 [Δημοστράτου Κυθήριος· Καλλικράτης Χαροπίδου [Λαμπρεὺς  
εἶπε· περὶ ᾧ]ν οἱ Τενέδιοι λέγουσι, [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὸν δῆ]μον  
τῶν Τενεδίων ἀρε[τῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας | τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμά[χο]υς, τῆς τε ἐν τῷ π[ρ]ο[σ]θεν  
10 χρόνῳ καὶ . . . . . | . . .] βεβοηθήκασι --- (not much seems  
to be lost between the first fragment and the second.) [- -  
15 - - - -]πτες· ὅπ[ως δ' ἂν κομίσωνται Τε]νέδιοι τὰ χρήμα[τα] ὅσ[α  
. . . . . | . . . . .] ἐπὶ Θεοφρά[στου ἀρχοντος  
. . . . . | . . . τῷ δῆμ]ῳ εἰς τὴν βοή[θειαν] . . . . . | . . . . .  
ἀπ[αντα] (?), δεδόχθαι [τῷ δῆμ]ῳ . . . . . | . . . . . τ]ὸν μετὰ  
20 Θεοφρά[στον ἀρχοντα] . . . . . || τὴν σύντα[ξιν] τὴν ἐψηφισμ[ένην]  
. . . . . | . . . . .] εἰ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐγκύκ[λιον διοίκησιν] . . . | . . .  
ἐν τ]ῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ μετὰ [Θεοφράστον ἀρχο]ντα κ[ομίσεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς  
τ[. . . . . | . . .] ταῦτα ἕως ἂν κομίσωντ[αι τὰ χρήματα  
25 πάντ]|| α' ἐν] δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ εἶναι εἰσπράξαι μ[ήτ]ε στρατηγῷ  
μήτε ἄλλῳ [μ]η[θεν] μήτε ἀργύρι[ο]ν μήτε ἄλλο μηθέν, μηδὲ τοῖς  
συνέδροις εἶναι | κατα[τα]τάξαι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ το[ύτῳ] ἕως ἂν  
30 κομ[ί]σωνται Τενέδιοι τὰ χρήματα ἅ[παντα] ἃ κεχρήκα[μεν] | σιν ὅ[πως] ἂν  
καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν [χρόνον] εἰδῶσιν | οἳ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ ἄλλος ὅσ[τις]  
ἂν εὖνους ᾖ τῷ | δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθ[η]ναίων ὅτι ὁ δῆ[μος] ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
ἐπι[μ]ελε[ῖ]ται δικαίως τοῖς πρ[ό]αυτον τῶν συμμά[χ]ων τὰ συμφέ-  
35 ροντα τῷ δῆ[μ]ῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ || τοῖς συμμά[χοις]. ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ  
τὸν δῆμον τὸν Τε]νεδ[ί]ον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ |  
ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοί[ας] τῆς [εἰς] τὸν δῆμ[ον]  
τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμ[α]χούς. ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ τὸν σύνεδρον  
40 τῶν Τενεδίων || ν Ἀρα[τ]ρον κ[αὶ] στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ |  
ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ καὶ . . . . . τοὺς σ[υν]ε[δ]ρο[ύς] τῶν Τενε-  
δίων - - - .

The archonship of Theophrastos, B. C. 340-339, is memorable as the year in which Athens finally declared war with Philip, and, by following up with arms the successful diplomacy of Demosthenes, saved Byzantion and the Chersonese. In this decree, mutilated as it is, we find the people of Tenedos, and Aratos their general (?), and also their deputy at the confederate synod (σύνεδρος), are crowned and praised for help given (βοήθεια) and money lent. Tenedos is to be exempt from



tribute (σύνταξις) for the whole of next year, and her loan is to be repaid. Köhler is probably right in referring these services of the Tenedians to the defence of Byzantion. On the importance of Tenedos (i. e. Besika Bay) in connexion with the corn-ships from the Euxine cp. [Dem.] xvii. περὶ τ. πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθηκῶν 20.

## 147.

Restoration of the Statue of Athena Nike: about  
B. C. 340 or 330.

A fragment at Athens. Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, *Hermes*, xxvi (1891), p. 43; *C. I. A.* iv (2), p. 62, no. 198 c; p. 130, no. 513 e also belongs to the same inscription. A. Behr, *Hermes*, xxx (1895), pp. 447 foll.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 136 and add. vol. ii. p. 812.

-----  
----- s [τ]ῶν [προέδ-  
ρων ἐπεψήφισε] . . . . .]s ἐκ Κε[ρ]αμείω-  
5 ν' . . . . .]s [Λα]κιάδης [εἰ]πέ[ν]  
περὶ ὧν οἱ ἡιρημ[έ]νοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ[ο]υ λ[έ]-  
γουσιν ἐπὶ τῇν] ἐπισκευῇν τοῦ ἀγά[λ]μα-  
[τος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ]s τῆς Νίκης ἣν ἀνέ[θ]εσαν  
[Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ] Ἀμβρακιωτῶν κα[ὶ] τῆ]s ἐν  
10 [Ὀλπαις στρατι]ᾶs καὶ τῶν ἐπαν[αστ]ά(ν)τ-  
[ων τῶι δήμῳι τ]ῶι Κερκυραίων [καὶ ἀπ'] Ἀν-  
[ακτοριῶν, δεδ]όχθαι τῇι βουλῇ.  
[. . . προσ]α[γα]γεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς [τὸν δῆ]μόν  
[. . . . .] εἰ]s τὴν πρώτην ἐκ[κλησί]αν [κ-  
15 αὶ χρηματ]ίσαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυ[νβά]λλεσθ-  
αι τῆς βουλῆs εἰς τὸν δῆμον, [ὅτι δ]οκεῖ  
τῇι βουλῇι, περὶ τε τῆς θυσί[α]s τῇι θε[ῶ]ι  
θῦσαι τὴν ἱέρε[ι]αν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶs τὸ ἀρε[σ]-  
τήριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου, [ἐ]πει[δ]ὴ ὁ ἐξή[γη]-  
20 τῆs . . . . .]s ἀργύριον τοῦ [. . .  
[. . . . .] δ[ή]μου δοῦναι  
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀν[α]λισ[κο]μένων - - -

The monument of Athena Nike was dedicated (presumably

in the temple of that goddess, to the plans for which no. 37 relates) in commemoration of the various campaigns of Demosthenes in 426-425 B.C. (Thuk. iii. 105-112); of the victory in the summer of 425 B.C. of the democratic party in Korkyra over the oligarchs who had taken up a position in the mountains, a victory which was due to Athenian aid (Thuk. iv. 46); and of the capture later in the same year of Anaktorion by Athenians and Akarnanians from Naupaktos (Thuk. iv. 49). Some time after the middle of the fourth century the figure of Athena Nike required repairs, to carry out which a special commission was appointed; and for these changes a propitiatory sacrifice (*ἀρεστήριον*) was necessary.

## 148 [117].

Honours to one Bularchos who was Ταξίαρχος in the  
Chaireoneia campaign: B. C. 339-338.

Found on the Akropolis: the text is from Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 562; see Kirchhoff, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1863, pp. 9 foll.

§ 1. *End of decree of the βουλή:*

[. . . . . εἶπε]ν δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπειδὴ ὁ  
ταξίαρχος τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς Βο[ύλ]α[ρχος] Ἀριστοβούλου  
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γεγένηται περὶ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους, ἐπαι-  
νέσαι Βούλαρχον Φλυέα καὶ στεφ[α]νῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στ-  
5 ἐφάνωι ἀνδραγαθίας· ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον· εἴν-  
αι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῷ φυλετῶν].

§ 2. *A decree of the Tribe, inscribed on the same stone:*

[ - - - - - εἰς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Βούλαρχος Φλ-  
υεύς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γεγένηται περὶ τὴν φυλὴν τῇ [ν] Κεκροπίδα καὶ  
τοὺς στρατευσαμένους, δεδόχθαι τοῖς φυλῆταις ἐπαινεῖσαι  
10 Βούλαρχον Ἀριστοβούλου Φλυέ]α καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι· στε[φ-  
άνωι ἀπὸ - - δραχμῶν ἀνδρ]αγαθίας [εἰς] ἔννεκα καὶ φιλοτ[ι]μίας  
τῆς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· παραλαβεῖν] δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα [αὐτὸν γραμματ-  
έα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ] ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐπιγρ[άψαι] καθάπερ  
τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς ?]

Within crowns at the foot:



The restoration of these fragments is due to Kirchhoff, who got his clue from the following dedication upon a statue-base found on the Akropolis: [Κ]εκροπίδος οἱ στρατέ[υσ]άμενοι ἐπὶ Λυσισμαχίδου ἄρχοντος | [κ]αὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος Βούλαρχ[ος] Ἀριστοβούλου Φλυεὺς Ἀθηνᾶι (see Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 1214). Bularchos had fought in those earlier engagements which preceded the decisive battle: *Dem. de Cor.* 216 δὲς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Kephissos) καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν (the one in the winter) κ.τ.λ. (χειμερινή can hardly mean 'in the storm' as Hogarth suggests, *Philip and Alexander*, p. 126). This was about Feb. 338 B. C.; see Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, ii. &c.<sup>2</sup>, p. 556.

### 149 [118].

Honours to Akarnanians who had fought on the Athenian side at Chaironeia: B. C. 338-337.

Found at the Propylaea in 1852. Στοιχηδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 121; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 147, and add. vol. ii. p. 812; Michel, *Recueil*, 102; comp. Meier, *Commentatio Epigraph.* ii. pt. 2, p. 98; Velsen, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1856, p. 115; Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. p. 50; Reusch, *de dieb. contion. ordin. ap. Athen.* 1880, p. 8; Schubert, *de prozenia Attica*, p. 55; A. Wilhelm, *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 221; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* 1900, p. 525.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρών]δο[υ] ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος δ[ε]κ[α]-  
[της πρυτανείας, ἧι Φίλιππος Ἀντιφ . . . . .  
ἐγρ]α[μμά]τευν· Θαργηλιῶνος τετράδι φθίνοντος, τρ-  
ίτηι [τῇ]ς πρυτανείας· τ[ῶν] προέδρων ἐ[πι]ψή[φ]ι[ζ]εν [. . .  
5 . . . .] Ἐρχιεύς· ἔδοξεν τ[ῶ]ι [δήμ]ωι· Ἡγήσι[π]πος [Ἡγησίο-  
ν Σουσι]εύς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ Ἀ[καρνᾶν]ες λέγου[σιν] Φο-  
ρμίων καὶ Καρφίνας οἱ (ν)έ[ο]ν ἐλθόντ[ες], δεδόχθαι [τῶ]ι  
δήμ[ω]ι, ἐπειδὴ Φορμίων καὶ Καρ[φί]νας, ὄντες πατρόθε-  
ν φίλ[οι] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, διαφυλάττουσιν [τῇ]-

- 10 ν εῦ]νοια(ν) ἦν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῖς παρέδοσαν πρὸς [τὸ-  
ν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ νυνὶ βοηθήσαντ[ες μ]ετὰ δ[υ-  
νάμ]εως συνκατετάττοντο μετὰ Ἀθηναίω[ν καθότι ὁ [σ-  
τρ]ατη[γ]ὸς παραγγέ[λ]λοι, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοῦς ἀρε[τ]ῆς [ξ-  
νεκα] καὶ στεφανώσαι ἐκότερον αὐτῶν χρυσῶι στεφ[ά-  
15 νω]ι· [ἐ]πειδὴ δὲ Φορ[μ]ίωνα τὸν Φορμίωνος καὶ Καρ[φ]ίν[α  
πάππ]ον ἐποίησατο (one letter erased) Ἀθηναῖον ὁ δῆμος ὁ  
Ἀθηναίων κ[α]-  
ὶ τ[ο]ῦς ἐκείνου ἐκγόνο[υ]ς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἡ [π]οίη-  
[σι]ς ἐγένε[τ]ο ἀναγ[έ]γραπται ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἵ[ναι] Φορ-  
[μ]ίω[ν]ι καὶ Καρφί[ν]αι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνο[ι]ς αὐτῶν κυρία-  
20 [ν τῇ]ν [δωρε]ῖ[αν] ἦν [ἔδωκ]εν ὁ δῆ[μ]ος Φορμίωνι τῶι πάππω-  
ι [α]ῦ[τ]ῷ[ν]· ἐλ[έ]σθαι [δὲ αὐ]τοῦ[ς] φυλῇ[ν] καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρα-  
[τρίαν] ὧν δ[ὲ]ν βούλονται εἶναι. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
[ἄλλ]ο[υ]ς Ἀκαρ[ρ]ῶνας τ[ο]ὺς βο.ηθήσαντας (erasure after ο) μετὰ  
Φορμίω-  
[νος κ]αί[τε] Καρφί[ν]α καὶ εἶνα[ι] αὐ[τ]οῖς ἕως ἂν κατέλθωσι-  
25 [ν, ἔγκτησιν] ὧν ἂν οἱ[κ]ῶν βούλονται οἰκοῦσιν Ἀθήνη-  
[σιν] ἀτελέσι τοῦ μετοικ[έ]ου· κα[ὶ] διδόναι αὐτοὺς δίκαι[ς]  
καὶ λαμβάνειν καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς  
[όποσαι] ἂν γ[ί]ν[ω]νται, μετὰ Ἀθηναίων εἰσφέρειν καὶ  
[ἐπιμελείσθαι] [α]ὐ[τῶν τῇ]ν βουλ[ῇ]ν τὴν αἰεὶ βουλευούσ-  
30 [αν κ]αί[τε] τοῦ[ς] στρατηγο[ῦ]ς οἱ ἂν αἰεὶ στρατηγῶσιν, ὅπως  
[ἂν μὴ ἀδικῶν]ται. ἀναγράψ[αι] [δ]ὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στ-  
[ήλῃ] λιθί[νῃ] τὸν γραμματέ[α] τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς καὶ στήσαι  
[ἐν ἀ]κροπό[λει]. ἀναγ[ρά]ψαι δὲ καί[τε] τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Ἀκαρ-  
[ρῶν] εἰς τὴν αὐτ[ῇ]ν στήλῃν ὑπογράψαντα τὰς πόλει-  
35 [ς τῆ]ς Ἀκαρναν[ί]ας ἥς εἰς ἑ[κ]κ[α]στός ἐστιν. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα-  
[γρ]αφ[ῇ]ν τῆς στήλ[ης] δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῶι  
[γραμματέ]ϊ τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς τ[ρ]ιάκοντα [δ]ραχμὰς ἐκ τ[ῶν] κατ-  
[ὰ ψήφισμα] ἀναλισκομένων τ[ῶ]ι δῆ[μ]ωι.

Φορμίωνα  
ὁ δῆ[μ]ο[s]

Καρφίναν  
ὁ δῆμος.

The fidelity of the Akarnanians to Athens has been described

on no. 105 : Livy (xxxiii. 16), speaks of the 'fides insita genti.' There is little doubt that the occasion referred to in the words βοηθήσαντες μετὰ δυνάμεως συγκατετάττοντο μετὰ Ἀθηναίων was the battle of Chaironeia, which was fought in August 338 B. C. The heading of our decree is partly restored from that of C. I. A. ii. 122 : it is dated May 337. The exact date is restored by Haussoullier (*Rev. Crit.* 1899, p. 406)—his date being more probable than that of Reusch, which is δυνεῖραι φθίν. ἐ|κτη. Diodoros, xviii. 3, speaks of τοὺς ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας φυγάδας . . . διὰ Φιλίππου πείραν εἰληφότας τῆς φυγῆς—Philip immediately after Chaironeia having subdued Akarnania and banished the partisans of Athens. Among these were the brothers Karphinas and Phormion, whose grandfather Phormion had received the Athenian citizenship. When we remember the strong affection of the Akarnanians for the Athenian general Phormion in the Peloponnesian War (Thuk. iii. 7), we conclude with confidence that the great-grandfather of the brothers had become the guest-friend of the famous general, and had named his son after him.

## 150.

Arbitration between Melos and Kimolos : soon after  
B. C. 338.

Carried from Kimolos to Smyrna. Le Bas, *Voy. Arch. As. Min.* iii. 1 ; *Μουσείον*, 1873, 101, no. 103 ; Prellwitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 3277 ; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Inscr. Gr. Ins.* ii. p. 228, no. 1259 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 428 ; Michel, *Recueil*, 14. Comp. Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup>, pp. 100, 101 ; R. Heberdey u. A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 112 ; F. Bechtel, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xx (1894), p. 241 ; E. Sonne, *de arbitris extern.* p. 34, no. liv ; J. Kaerst, *Rhein. Mus.* lii (1897), p. 526, note 1.

## Θεός.

\*Ἐκρινε ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν  
Ἀργείων κατὰ τὸ δόκη-  
μα τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν  
5 Ἑλλάνων, ὁμολογη-  
σάντων Μα[λ]ίων καὶ  
Κμωλίων ἐμμενέν  
αἰ κα δικάσσαιεν τοὶ  
Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τῶν

- 10 [ν]άσων, Κιμωλίων  
 ἤμεν Πολύαιγαν, Ἐτήι-  
 ρειαν, Λίβειαν. Ἐδί-  
 κασσαν νικῆν Κιμωλί-  
 [ο]υς. Ἀρήτευε Λέων  
 15 [β]ωλᾶς σευτέρας, Ποσιδά-  
 ων γρο[φ]εὺς βωλᾶς, Πέριλ-  
 λος πεδιών.

Although the states concerned are insignificant, this is a good and early instance of the employment by the Greeks in the case of territorial disputes of external arbitration by an ἐκκλητος πόλις (cp. ed. 1, nos. 149, l. 28; 15, l. 12, &c.). The Argives were charged by the κοινὸν συνέδριον of the Greeks (by which is meant the council instituted in 338 B. C. and not the Amphiktyonic council) with an arbitration between the two islands, and decided in favour of Kimolos. The places in dispute are small islands near Kimolos. The βωλᾶ σευτέρα is the council of the second half of the year. Such a division of the year into two official halves is found at Rhodes and at Tarsos as well as Argos. The Argive officials are a president (?) (ἀρήτευε = ἀφρήτευε, see Fränkel in *Sitzungsber. d. k. preuss. Akad.* 1898, no. xli. p. 3), secretary (γροφεύς), and assessor (πεδιών = μετεών). More detailed accounts of arbitrations may be found, e. g., in Michel's *Recueil*, nos. 20, 28 and 31.

## 151 [119].

## Athenian Dikasts' tickets : fourth century B. C.

Three small bronze plates,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick. Exposed in the case among the other Bronzes in the British Museum.

- (1) 

Γ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩΝ : ΑΡΙΣ
Θ ΤΟΔΗΜΟΥ : ΚΟΘΩΚ

 Γ. Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀριστοδή-  
 μου Κοθωκ(ίδης).

a. An owl surrounded by an olive wreath, with the letters ΑΘΗ = Ἀθη(ναίων). Published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, vol. ii. 1878, p. 536; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 885; H. B. Walters, *B. M. Catal. of Bronzes*, p. 50, no. 331.

(2)

□ ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ
Ⓐ ΑΛΑΙΕΥΣ     Ⓑ. Ⓒ

Γ. Δεινίας | 'Αλαιεύς.

a. Owl within olive wreath. b. Double owl. c. Gorgon's head. Published by Böckh, *C. I. G.* no. 208; *Bulletin*, *ibid.* p. 536; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 886; H. B. Walters, *op. cit.* p. 49, no. 329.

(3)

Ε ΑΡΧΙΛΟΧΟΣ
Ⓐ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΥΣ

Ε. 'Αρχίλοχος | Φαληρεύς.

a. An imperfect stamp. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 901; Walters, *op. cit.* p. 49, no. 330.

For a fuller discussion of these tablets, the reader is referred to Dumont, *Revue Archéol.* 1868, p. 140; C. Curtius, *Rhein. Museum*, 1876, p. 283; S. Bruck, *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xix. pp. 203 foll.; *Philologus*, 1895, pp. 64 foll.; and *C. I. A.* ii. 875-940 with the addenda in iv. pt. 2, where other tablets of the kind are given. See also Scholiast on Aristoph. *Plut.* 277; Schömann, *Opusc.* i. 203 foll.; *Attische Process*, 127; K. F. Hermann, *Gr. Staatsalterth.* 1<sup>5</sup>. § 134, 11; G. Gilbert, *Greek Const. Antiquities*, p. 397 (Eng. trans.). Every year the nine archons, assisted by a secretary, selected by lot (from among all citizens who applied) 600 from each tribe, who were thereupon drafted into ten divisions of 500 each, the odd 1,000 standing in reserve to fill up vacancies. Each received a tablet (πινάκιον) engraved with his name, with the number of his division (expressed by the letters A to K, so that the πινάκια were often called γράμματα), and with the owl or gorgoneion which served, so to speak, as the seal of the Athenian republic. This πινάκιον is not to be confused with the σύμβολον or voucher which the dikast received upon being impanelled to try a case, and which qualified him to receive his τριώβολον. Nor have the letters anything to do with the letters by which the various courts were marked. Dikasts of different divisions might be impanelled together to try the same case; and the number of dikasts impanelled varied greatly according to the nature of the case, only the number was generally an odd one. Of the three πινάκια printed above, the first two belonged to

the third division, the last to the fifth. They were found in tombs; and the fact that Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* 63) describes the *πινάκια* as being made of box-wood has suggested that it was usual to bury a bronze reproduction of a dikast's *πινάκιον* with him. This would lend a grim force to the jest in Arist. *Plut.* 277: 'Εν τῇ σορῶ ἡνι λαχὼν τὸ γράμμα σου δικάζειν, | σὺ δ' οὐ βαδίζεις; ὁ δὲ Χάρων τὸ ξύμβολον δίδωσιν. At the same time it must be admitted that the bronze tablets have every appearance of being the originals; the sectional letters, for instance, being in most cases stamped on the tablet before the name of the owner was engraved in a different hand. So that it would appear that these bronze tablets (which moreover are very uniform in shape) were delivered to the heliast by the state.



PART V

FROM CHAIRONEIA TO THE DEATH  
OF ALEXANDER

B.C. 338-323.

152 [120].

**Peace of Demades; Alkimachos the Makedonian honoured  
at Athens: B. C. 337-336.**

Fragment found on the Akropolis: it was surmounted by a relief, which still reveals the figure of Athena seated on the left. Στοιχῆδόν. The text is from Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 123.

[Θ]ε[οί.]  
 'Αλκιμά[χ]ωι, 'Αντιπάτρωι?  
 'Ε]πὶ Φρυνί[χ]ου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς 'Α-  
 κ]αμαντί[δος] ἑκτης πρυτανείας, ἡ-  
 5 ι] Χαιρέσ[τρατος] 'Αμεινίου 'Αχαρν-  
 ἐν]s ἐγραμμάτευ[εν κ.τ.λ.].

The date is early in 336; ἑκτης alone will fit the lacuna. The names of Chairestratos' father and deme are restored from other decrees of this date (cp. no. 153, and *C. I. A.* ii. 124 foll.). It is probable that this stelè (the international importance of which is indicated by the nature of the relief) contained the grant of citizenship or of proxenia to Alkimachos and Antipatros, Philip's generals, which was probably carried by Demades: see Harpokr. s.v. 'Αλκίμαχος: 'Αλκίμαχος Μακεδών, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου (fr. 77 Blass) οὕτως: 'Αλκίμαχον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον Ἀθηναίους καὶ προξένους ἐποίησάμεθα.

Cp. A. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. p. 32. Alkimachos was the brother of Lysimachos, see Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. i. p. 201.

## 153 [121].

Honours to some one who befriended the Athenians  
at the Court of Philip: B.C. 336.

Found on the Akropolis. Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 124; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 148; Michel, *Recueil*, 103; cp. Velsen, *Rhein. Mus.* xi. 598.

Θεο[ί].

- [Ἐπ]ὶ Φρυνίχου ἀρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς Πα-  
νδίουίδος δεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἡ-  
ι Χ]αιρ[έσ]τρατος Ἀ[μει]νί[ο]υ Ἀχαρνε-  
5 ὕς [ἐ]γραμμ[ά]τευεν· τῶν προέδρων ἐπ-  
ε]ψ[ή]φισεν Ἀ[ντιφάν]ης Εὐωνυμέ[υ]ς·  
Δ[η]μ[άδ]ης Δ[η]μέου Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν·  
ἀγαθ[ῆ]ι τ[ύχ]ῃ τ[οῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα-  
ίων δεδ[ό]χθ[αι] τῶι δήμωι, [ἐ]π[ειδὴ] . .  
10 . . . . . σ . . . . . σανδρο . . ν [ . . . . .  
πρ]ο[σ] τὸν δήμον [τ]ὸν Ἀθηναίων . . . .  
· καὶ ἐπιμελεῖται Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀ-  
φικν[ο]υμένων ὡς Φίλιππον [πράττω-  
ν ἀγαθὸν ὃ [τ]ι δύναιται Ἀθηναίοις π-  
15 ἀρὰ Φιλίππου, εἶνα]ι πρόξενον καὶ  
εὐ[ε]ργ[ε]τήν τ[οῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων  
ν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόρους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπ-  
ιμελ[ε]ῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ  
τοῦς στρατηγούς ὅτου ἂν δέχεται. ἀ-  
20 ναγ[ρά]ψαι δὲ τὴν προξενίαν εἰς στ-  
ῆλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι [τὸν γραμ-  
ματέ]α [τ]ὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν ἀκρο-  
πόλει· εἰς [δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς σ-  
τῆλης [δο]τω ὁ ταμίης τριδάκοντα δρ-  
25 αχμ[ά]ς] κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

With sufficient certainty the name of Demades, the famous orator, is restored as the mover of the resolution, which grants *προξενία* to a Makedonian who had assisted Demades in negotiating the peace with Philip.

## 154.

## Athens and the Peace with Alexander: B. C. 336.

A much mutilated fragment found on the Akropolis. Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, C. I. A. ii. 160; A. Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth.* xvii. 1894, p. 35, no. 1; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 149; cp. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. p. 97.

- ----- οὐδ' ἐ δ' πλ[α] ἐ[π]οί[σ]ω ἐ-  
 5 πὶ πημονῇ ἐπ' οὐδένα τῶν ἐμμε[ν]όντων ἐν τ-  
 [ῇ εἰρήνῃ οὔτε κατὰ γῆν] οὔτε κατὰ [θ]άλασ-  
 [σαν· οὐδὲ πόλισμα οὔτε χ]ωρίον καταλήψομ-  
 [αι οὔτε λιμένα ἐπὶ πολέ]μῳ οὐθενὸς τῶν τ-  
 [ῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνούντ]ων τέχνη[ι] οὐδεμι-  
 10 [αὶ οὔτε μηχανῇ. οὐδὲ τ]ῇ βασιλε[ί]α[ν τὴν] Φ-  
 [ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων καταλύσ[ω] οὐ[δ'] ἐ[τ]ὰ-  
 s πολιτείας τὰς οὔσας παρ' ἐκάστοις ὅτε [τ-  
 οὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήν]ης ὤμνουν.  
 [οὐδὲ ποιήσω οὐθὲν ἐναν]τίον ταῖςδε ταῖς  
 15 [σπονδαῖς οὔτ' ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλ]ω ἐπιτ[ρ]έψω εἰς  
 [τὸ δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις τι] παρασπονδῇ πε-  
 [ρὶ τὰς συνθήκας, βοηθήσω] καθότι ἂν παρ[α]γ[α]-(γ)-  
 [γέλλῃ ἀεὶ τῷ δεομένῳ] καὶ πολεμ[ή]σῃ τῷ-  
 [ι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην παρα]βαίν[ο]ν[τι κ]αθότι  
 20 [ἂν δοκῇ τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρ]ο[ί]ω [κ]αὶ ὁ ἡγεμ[ώ]-  
 [ν κελεύῃ] - - - -

In 336 B. C. Alexander renewed at Korinth (with the assent of all but the Spartans) the compact by which his father, two years earlier, had been recognized as champion of the Greeks against Persia. At the same time a general Hellenic peace was sworn to, in the terms preserved in our inscription. It is alluded to in the speech περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν attributed to Demosthenes (xvii. 10: ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἐάν τις τὰς πολιτείας τὰς παρ' ἐκάστοις οὔσας, ὅτε τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὤμνουν, καταλύωσι, πολεμίους εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν, cp. lines 11 foll.). Cp. Niese, *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, i. p. 53.

To the same stone belongs the following fragmentary list

(no. 133 in ed. 1; Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 184; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 159):

----- : Γ  
 [----- Θες]σαλῶν : Δ [- -  
 ----- ω]ν : ||  
 [- - - - Ἀχαιῶν Φθ]ιωτῶν : |  
 5 [- - - - Φλει]ασίων : |||  
 ----- ων : || : Ἀμβρακιωτ[ῶν : - -  
 ----- ἂ]πὸ Θράκης καὶ  
 ----- Φωκέων : ||| : Λοκρῶν : ||| :  
 [- - - Οἰτ]αίων καὶ Μαλιέων καὶ  
 10 [- - - Ἀλυς]αίων καὶ Δολόπων : Γ  
 [- - - Περ]ραιβῶν : ||  
 [- - - Ζακύνθο]ν καὶ Κεφαλληνίας : |||.

It was formerly supposed to be a list of the allies in the Iamian War (323-322 B.C.) with the number of votes allowed to each in the council. The discovery of the connexion of the list with the Hellenic peace of 336 is due to Wilhelm (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, vol. ii. p. 812).

## 155 [123].

## Alexander in Ionia: Summer of 334 B. C.

On two of the antae-stones from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, the fragments of which (with one exception left at Priene) are now in the British Museum: Hicks, *Gk. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 400; Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage, Inscr.* iii. 188; cp. Lenschau, *De rebus Priensium* (Leipziger Studien, xii), p. 166; E. Pridik, *De Alex. Magni epistularum commercio* (Dorpat, 1893), p. 28.

Βασιλέως Ἀ[λεξάνδ]ρου  
 Τῶν ἐν Ναυλόχῳ [κατοικούν?]-  
 των ὅσοι μὲν εἰσι [Πριηνεῖς] α[ὐτ]ο-  
 [νό]μους [εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθ]έρους  
 5 ἔχ[οντας τὰ γήπεδα ? κ]αὶ τὰς οἰκί-  
 as τὰς ἐν [π]όλει π[ά]σα[s καὶ τῇ γ]  
 χῶραν, οἳ δὲ [Πριηνεῖς - - - -]  
 - - αἷs ἂν δέω[νται - - - - -]  
 το δε . . . αἱ Μυρσ - - - - -  
 10 . αἱπ - - - - - - - - - - - χῶρα[ν]  
 γινώσκω ἐμῇν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κα-

τοικοῦντας ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταύ-  
 ταις φέρειν τοὺς φόρους· τῆς  
 δὲ συντάξεως ἀφίημι τὴν Πριη-  
 15 νέωμ πόλιν κ[α]τὰ τὴν φρουρᾶν ἐ-  
 φ' ἧ[ι] - - - - -

This edict was issued by Alexander after the reduction of the Greek cities on the coast, and relates to the apportionment of lands and the adjustment of tribute. The word *σύνταξις* (contribution according to treaty) is to be contrasted with *φόρος*, which would be paid by actual subjects of the king. Priene was among the cities which submitted without a blow, and therefore might expect some favours (cp. no. 156). Naulochon is named by Pliny, *N.H.* v. 29; it was a small port at the mouth of the Maiandros (Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* pt. 5, no. 186). It would appear that Prienians resident in Naulochon are to receive privileges denied to the foreigners in the same place. The villages in the neighbourhood are decreed to stand on βασιλικὴ χώρα. This was the beginning of one of the royal domains, on the history of which under the Seleukids cp. (e.g.) Haussoullier, *Rev. de Philol.* 1901, pp. 27 foll.

## 156 [124].

### Alexander in Ionia: Summer of 334 B. C.

On a large block from the Temple at Priene: now in the British Museum. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage, Inscr.* iii. 187; Lenschau, *De rebus Priensium* (Leipziger Studien, xii), pp. 116 foll.; F. Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dialekts*, no. 142; Hicks, *Gk. Inscr. in B. M.* no. 399; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 158; Michel, *Recueil*, 1209.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν  
 Ἀθηναίῃ Πολιάδῃ.

After the victory of Granikos, on his march southwards, Alexander seems to have spent some little time at Ephesos, where he found the Artemision (burned down on the night he was born) had nearly finished rebuilding. Strabo repeats a story (xiv. pp. 640, 641) that Ἀλέξανδρον δὴ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ὑποσχέσθαι τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναλώματα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὴν

ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι . . . ἐπαινεῖ τε (Artemidoros) τὸν εἰπόντα τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὥς οὐ πρόποι θεῷ θεοῖς ἀναθήματα κατασκευάζειν. We may suppose that Alexander visited Priene also, and found the Prienians less scrupulous or less wealthy (cp. Droysen, *Hell.* i. 1. 202). The temple was built by Pythios, the architect of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.

## 157 [125].

## Revolutions at Eresos: B. C. 333-301.

Fragments of a block of marble inscribed on three sides. Found at Eresos. *A* (front), *B* (side), and *C* (back). The upper parts of *A* and *C* are wanting. Στοιχιδόν. Published by Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, pp. 35 foll.; Sauppe, *Commentatio de duabus inscr. Lesb.*; Kirchhoff, in Droysen's *Hellenismus*, 1878, vol. ii. 2, pp. 363 foll.; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 281; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 430; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. pp. 80 foll.; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* no. xxvii (ii. pp. 161 foll.); Michel, *Recueil*, 358; W. R. Paton, *Inscr. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 526; cp. Pridik, *De Alex. Magni epist. commercio* (Dorpat, 1893), p. 34.

[§ 1. Inscribed upon the lost upper half of *A* was a 'Law against the Tyrants'—νόμος κατὰ τῶν τυράννων—often referred to in the following documents.]

§ 2. Judgment delivered upon the tyrant Agonippos (the beginning: ἔγνω δᾶμος· ἐπειδὴ Ἀγωνίππος κ.τ.λ. is lost):

## A.

-----πολ[ι]ορκήθε[ν]τας ε-  
 ἰς τὰν ἀ[κρ]όπολιν [ἀ]νοικο[δ]όμ[η]σε καὶ τοῖς πο-  
 λίταις δισμυρίοις στάτηρας εἰσέπραξε [καὶ  
 τοῖς Ἑλλανας ἐλαΐζετο καὶ τοῖς βώμοις ἀνέ-  
 5 σ[καψε] τῷ Δίῳ τῷ [Φ]ιλίππ[ω] καὶ πόλεμον ἐξε[νι-  
 κ]άμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλανας  
 τοῖς μὲν πολίταις παρελόμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐξε-  
 κλάϊσε ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος [πα]νθάμι, ταῖς δὲ γύναι-  
 10 κας καὶ ταῖς θυγάτερας συλλάβων καὶ ἔρξα[ις]  
 ἐν τᾷ ἀκροπόλει τρισχίλοις καὶ διακοσίο[ις]  
 στάτηρας εἰσέπραξε, τὰν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρ[α]  
 διαρπάσαις μετὰ τῶν λαϊσταν ἐνέπρησε καὶ  
 συγκατέκαυσε σώματα [τῶν] πολίταν, καὶ τὸ τ[ε]-  
 λεύταιον ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κατ[ε]-

- 15 ψεύδετο καὶ διεβάλλετο τοῖς πολίταις· κρῖνα[ι  
 μ]ὲν αὐτον κρύπται ψάφιγγι ὁμόσσαντας περ[ι]  
 θ]ανάτω· αἱ δὲ κε καταψαφίσθη θάνατος, ἀντιτ[ι]-  
 μασαμ[ε]νω Ἀγωνίππω τὰν δευτέραν διαφόραν  
 ποιήσασθαι, τίνα τρόπον δεύει αὐτον ἀποθά-  
 20 νην· αἱ δὲ κε καλλάφθε[ν]τος Ἀγωνίππω τᾷ δίκᾳ  
 κατὰ γη τίς τινα τῶν Ἀγωνίππω ἢ εἴπῃ ἢ πρόθῃ  
 περὶ καθόδω ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἀποδόσιος, κατὰ-  
 ρατον ἔμμεναι καὶ αὐτου καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω,  
 καὶ τᾶλλα ἔ[ν]οχος ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ ὥς τὰν στάλλαν  
 25 ἀνέλονται[α] τὰν περὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-  
 νων· ποιήσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ α[ϋ]-  
 τ[ι]κα, τῷ μὲν δικάζοντι καὶ βαθόεντι τὰ πόλε[ι]  
 κ[αὶ] τὰ δικάῃα εὖ ἔμμεναι, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸ δίκαι-  
 ον τὰν ψᾶφον φερόντεσσι τὰ ἐνάντια τούτων.  
 30 Ἐδικάσθη· ὀκτακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς· ἀπ[ὸ]  
 τ]αύταν ἀπέλυσαν ἔπτα, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κατεδίκασ[σ]-  
 σαν.

§ 3. *Decree refusing restoration to Heroidas and Agesimenes, descendants of the earlier Tyrants :*

- [Ἐ]γνω δ[α]μ[ο]ς· περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπαγγέλλοις[ι]  
 οἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποστάλυντες καὶ Ἀλέ-  
 35 ξανδρος τὰν διαγράφαν ἀπέπεμψε, ἀφικομέ-  
 νων πρὸς αὐτον τῶν πρότερον τυράννων ἀπογ[ό]-  
 νων, Ἡρωίδα τε τῷ Τερτικωνεῖῳ τῷ Ἡραεῖ κα[ὶ] Ἀ]-  
 γησιμένεος τῷ Ἐρμησιλείῳ, καὶ ἐπαγγελλα[μέ]-  
 νων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστι δίκ[αν]  
 40 ὑ]ποσκέθην περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλημένων ἐν τῷ δάμῳ·  
 [ἀ]γάθα τύχα δ[έ]δοχθαι τῷ δ[α]μῳ ἐπειδὴ . . . . . α

(*The rest is lost, the bottom of A being broken*).

§ 4. *Judgment delivered upon Eurysilaos (the beginning is lost from the bottom of A) :*

B.

-----  
 παρ]ήλετ[ο] τὰ ὅπλ[α καὶ  
 ἐξ]εκλαΐσε ἐκ τᾶς [πό-  
 λι]ος πανδάμι, ται[s]

- 45 δ]ὲ γύναικας καὶ τα[ῖς  
 θ]υγάτερας συλλάβ[ων  
 ἦ]ρξε εἰς τὰν ἀκρόπο-  
 [λ]ιν καὶ εἰσέπραξε  
 δισχιλίους καὶ τρε[α]-  
 50 κοσίους στάτηρα(s), τὰ[ν]  
 δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερά [δι-  
 α]ρπάσαις μετὰ τῶν  
 [λ]αῖσταν ἐνέπρη[σε  
 κ]αὶ συγκατέκασε  
 55 σώματα τῶν πολίτ[αν,  
 κ]ρίνναι μὲν αὐτον  
 [κ]ρύπτει ψάφιγγι [κα-  
 τ]ὰ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ  
 β]ασίλειος Ἀλεξάνδ[ρω  
 60 κ]αὶ τοῖς νόμοις· [αἱ δὲ  
 κ]ε καταψαφίσθη [κα-  
 τ]’ αὐτῷ θάνατος, ἀ[ντι-  
 τι]μασασμένῳ Εὐρύσι-  
 λάῳ, τὰν δευτέραν [κρί-  
 65 σ]ιν ποιήσασθαι διὰ  
 [χ]ειροτονίας, τίνα  
 [τ]ρόπον δεύει αὐτον [ἀ-  
 π]οθάνην· λάβεσθαι δ[ὲ  
 κ]αὶ συναγόροις τὰ[ν]  
 70 πόλιν δέκα, οἵτινες  
 [δ]μόσαντες Ἀπόλ[λω-  
 ν]α Λύκειον δ[μ]οὶ σ[υνα-  
 γ]ορήσοισι [τᾷ πόλι, ὅπ-  
 πω]ς κε δύνα[νται - - -  
 - - - -

(Here the stone is broken, and there is a lacuna of several lines).

- - - - - [ποιή-  
 75 σασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν  
 ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτι-  
 κα, τῷ μὲν δικ[αίῳ] ὑπ-  
 ἀρχο[ντι] καὶ βαθόεν-



τι τᾷ πόλει καὶ τοῖς  
 80 [νόμο]ισι τᾷ δικαίᾳ εὖ  
 [ἔμμε]ναι καὶ αὐτοῖσι  
 [καὶ] ἐκγόνοισι, τῷ δὲ  
 [πα]ρὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ  
 τὰ δίκαια δικαζόν-  
 85 τεσσι (sic) τὰ ἐνάντια· ὁ-  
 μων δὲ τοῖς πολίτ[αις]  
 τοῖς δικάζοντας·  
 [N]αὶ δικάσσω τὰν [δίκαν  
 ὅ]σσα μὲν ἐν τοῖς [νό-  
 90 μ]οῖσι ἐνι κατ τοῖς νό-  
 μ]οις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐ(κ) [φιλο-  
 π]ονίας ὥς ἄριστα κα[ὶ  
 δ]ικαίτατα, καὶ τιμά-  
 [σ]ω, αἴκε κατὰγνω, ὄρθω[ς]  
 95 καὶ δι(καί)ως. οὕτω ποιήσω  
 ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον.

§ 5. *Rescript of king Philip Arrhidaios (B. C. 323-317) reaffirming the judgments against the Tyrants delivered under Alexander:*

Φιλίππω·  
 Αἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν φυγά-  
 δων κρίσεις αἱ κριθε[ῖ]-  
 100 σαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 κύριαι ἔστωσαν καὶ  
 [ῆ]ν κατέγνω φυγὴν φευ-  
 [γ]έτωσαμ μὲν, ἀγώγιμοι  
 δὲ μὴ ἔστωσαν.

§ 6. *Letter of king Antigonos (Monophthalmos, B. C. 306-301) concerning the sons of Agonirrhos:*

105 Πρότανις Μελίδωρος·  
 Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος  
 Ἐρεσίων τῇ βουλῇ  
 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν·  
 παρεγένοντο πρὸς ἡ-  
 110 μᾶς οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρ[ε]σ-  
 βεις καὶ διελέγοντ[ο],

φάμενοι τὸν δῆμον  
 κομισάμενον τὴν παρ' [ῆ]-  
 μῶν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἐγρ[ά]-  
 115 ψαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀγωνίπ-  
 [π]ου νύων, ψήφισμά τε π[ο]-  
 ήσασθαι ὁ ἀνέγνωσα[ν]  
 ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπε-  
 [σταλκέναι . . .]ασσ --

(Here is a considerable lacuna, something being broken from the bottom of B, and the upper half of C). The letter of Antigonos perhaps extends to ἔρρωσθε below.

## C.

120 . ε . . . ημο . ηκαι . . . . . [ἐ]πὶ τῇ[ι] . . .  
 . . . . . ναιαι . . . . . ν' Ἀλεξάν[δρω] ἐν]-  
 τυγ[χ]άν[ετε] . . . . .] ἔρρωσ[θε] . . . . .

§ 7. Final decree of the Eresians reaffirming the previous enactments against the Tyrants and their families :

[Ἐ]γν[ω] δᾶμος· περὶ ὧν ἂ βό[λ]α[λα] προεβόλλευσ[ε] ἡ ἔδο- \*  
 ξ[ε] ἡ [μ]ετέδ[οξε] τᾷ βόλλα καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ χ[ειροτο]-  
 125 ν[ή]θ[ε]υτε[ς] πάν[τα] [τὰ] γράφεντα κατὰ τῶν τυράν[ν]-  
 νων [κα]ὶ τ[ῶν] ἐ[μ] πό[λει] οἰκ[η]θέντων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-  
 νων [τῶν] τούτων παρέχ[ον]ται καὶ ταῖς γράφαι[ς]  
 εἰς[κομίζοις] εἰς τὰν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ [πρό-  
 τε]ρον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος διαγράφαν ἀποσ-  
 130 [τ]ελλαις π[ροσέτ]αξε [Ἐρε]σίοις κρίναι ὑπὲρ τε  
 Ἀγ[ωνίπ]πων καὶ Εὐ[ρυσ]ιλ[ά]ω, τί δεῖ πάθην αὐτοῖς, [ὁ]  
 δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο[ύ]σ[αι]ς τὰν διαγράφαν δικαστήριον  
 καλ[έ]σ[σ]αι κατὰ τοῖς νόμοις ὁ ἔκρινε Ἀγώνιπ-  
 [π]ομ μὲν καὶ Εὐρυσι[λαο]ν τε[θ]νᾶκην, τοῖς δὲ ἀπογ[ό]-  
 135 νοῖς αὐτῶν ἐνόχοις [ἔμμε]ναι τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ἐν τᾷ  
 [σ]τάλλα, τὰ [δ]ὲ ὑπάρχοντα πέπρασθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ  
 [τ]ὸν νόμον, ἐπιστέλλ[αντος] δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ ὑ-  
 πὲρ τῶν Ἀπολλο[δωρ]ε[ῖων] παίδων καὶ τῶν κασιγνήτων [αὐ-  
 τῶν, Ἐρμωνος καὶ Ἡραῖω, τῶν πρότερον τυραννη-  
 140 σάντων τᾶς πόλιος, καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτῶν, γ[ενώ]-

ναι τὸν δᾶμον, πότερο[ν δόκ]ει καταπορεύεσθ[αι]  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ μή, [δ] δὲ δᾶμος ἀκούσαις τα(ι)s διαγράφα[ις]  
 δικαστήριόν τε αὐτοῖσι συνάγαγε κατὰ τὸν [νό-  
 μ]ον καὶ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρ[ω],  
 145 δ' ἔ]γνων λο[γ]ῶν ῥηθέντων παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τὸν τε νό-  
 [μ]ον τὸν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων κύριον ἔμμεναι κα[ὶ]  
 φ]εύγην αὐτοῖς κατ' [τὰ]μ π[ό]λιν· δέδοχθαι τῷ δάμ[ω],  
 κύριον μὲν ἔμμεναι κατὰ [τῶν] τυράννων καὶ τῷ[ν]  
 ἔ]μ πόλι οἰκηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν τοῦ-  
 150 [τ]ῶν τὸν τε νόμον τὸμ περὶ [τ]ῶν τυράννων γεγράμ-  
 [μ]ενον ἐν τῇ στάλλᾳ τῇ [παλαι]ᾳ καὶ ταῖς διαγρά-  
 [φ]αῖς τῶν βασιλέων ταῖς κατὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψα-  
 [φ]ίσματα τὰ πρότερον γράφεντα ὑπὸ τῶν προγό-  
 [ν]ων καὶ ταῖς ψαφοφο(ρ)ίαις ταῖς κατὰ τῶν τυράννων· [αἱ]  
 155 δ' ἐκέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ἀλίσκηται τῶν τυράννων[ν ἢ]  
 τῶν ἐμ πόλι οἰκηθέντων ἢ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν το[ύ]-  
 των τις ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰν γὰρ τὰν Ἑρεσιῶν, [ἄφ-  
 ν]ω? τὸν δᾶ[μ]ον βο(λ)λεύσασθαι καὶ πε - - (*the end is lost*).

On the general political movements of this period—the growth of oligarchies and tyrannies in the Aegaeon under the Persian influence, the factions fomented by Philip, the motive and the results of Alexander's edict recalling the exiles—the reader is referred to the notes on nos. 139, 158, 159, and 164. As to Eresos, it joined the new Athenian Confederacy in 378 B. C. (no. 101), and no doubt remained democratic until the Social War in B. C. 357. Then followed a time during which, under Persian influence, Eresos was in the hands of 'tyrants.' We gather from lines 37, 38, and 138 that three of these earlier tyrants were brothers named Hermon, Heraios, and Apollodoros, who perhaps succeeded each other in power: for Ἀπολλοδώρειον = νῖον τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου, and lines 37 foll. are equivalent to Ἡρώϊδα τοῦ Τερτικῶνος τοῦ Ἡραίου καὶ Ἀγησιμένους τοῦ Ἑρμησίᾳ (Ἀπολλοδώρειος, Τερτικῶνειος, Ἡράειος being Aiolic patronymics). That Apollodoros was tyrant last of the three explains the circumstance that his children are classed with grandchildren of the other two (lines 137–139): indeed they may have been too young in 324 B. C. to join personally in the application referred to in § 3, where they are not

named; although they were virtually included in that application (line 138). It does not appear in what way this dynasty came to an end; probably by a revolution, in which perhaps Theophrastos the philosopher had a hand (see *Plut. adv. Coloten* 33, p. 1126: Θεοφράστῳ δις ἐλευθερῶσαι τυραννομένην, sc. τὴν πατρίδα; also *Non posse suav. vivi sec. Ep.* 15, p. 1097: Θεοφράστου καὶ Φανίου τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκκοψάντων τυράννους). If however the democracy was for a time restored, another tyrant soon appeared in Eurysilaos (lines 63, 131, 134), a man of a different family. Following Droysen's reconstruction of the history, we find that Eurysilaos must have been expelled and the democracy restored by the time of the battle of Granikos, 334 B.C. In the 'Demosthenic' oration, *De foed. Alex.* 7 (spoken about B.C. 333), Alexander is taunted with his inconsistency in maintaining tyrants in Messenia, and expelling them from Eresos.

The liberation by Alexander in 334 B.C. was shortlived; for in 333 the Persian admiral Memnon (*Arrian*, ii. 1, 1) sailed against Lesbos to detach the towns from Alexander. The iniquities of Agonippos form the subject of § 2. He was of course violently anti-Makedonian, and destroys an altar of Zeus Philippios, erected in honour of Alexander's father<sup>1</sup>. After a short but cruel reign, he flies to Alexander with a lying version of his late proceedings. How he was received we are not told; but the Eresians formally declare him an outlaw (lines 1-32). The *λαῖσται* or *λησταί* are the mercenary troops left behind by Memnon.

The date of § 3 is just after the recall of the exiles in B.C. 324. Heroidas and Agesimenes, grandsons of the former tyrants, Heraios and Hermon, had appealed to Alexander to be allowed the benefit of this edict. Many such applicants flocked to Alexander at Babylon (cp. *Diod.* xvii. 113). The Eresians, by permission of Alexander, refused them return—though the decree is here broken off.

§ 4 belongs to the same date as § 3. It records a trial of

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Dem.* xix. *de fals. leg.* 192: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὀλυμπον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπι' ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πατήγγυριν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν. We are reminded of Hadrian and the Olympieion and of the Olympia which were everywhere established in honour of this new Zeus.

Eurysilaos. He too had claimed restoration under the edict of recall. But Alexander had dealt with him as with other tyrants in a similar case: τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει, χρῆσασθαι ὅπως ἐθέλοιεν (Arrian, iii. 2. 7), and the Eresians, deciding this time not only by their native laws (line 28) but κατὰ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ βασιλέος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις (lines 57 foll.), reaffirm their condemnation of Eurysilaos.

§ 5 informs us that some of the exiles already named, after failing to obtain restoration under Alexander, applied in vain to his successor Philip Arrhidaios (B. C. 323-317) to reverse the previous decisions given above.

§ 6. The sons of Agonippos (who is now dead) being banished from Eresos, had applied to King Antigonos Monophthalmos (B. C. 306-301), who had written a letter in their favour to the Eresians (lines 114 foll.). The Eresians had replied with a decree (line 116), which they had forwarded to Antigonos (lines 109 foll.). To their decree the king replies in this letter, in which no doubt he gives his consent to the perpetual banishment of the sons of Agonippos.

§ 7 is a final decree of the Eresian people, based on a προβούλευμα (line 123), reciting and reaffirming their previous decisions and enactments against 'the tyrants'; both those members of their families who had once lived in the city (οἰκηθέντων, lines 149, 156), and their children who had always lived in exile. It should be remembered that restoration from exile meant not only recovery of political status, and return to native soil, but also the recovery of lands and property confiscated.

## 158.

### Letter of Alexander the Great to the Chians:

#### B. C. 333-332.

On a limestone slab found at Chios. G. Zolotas, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, v (1893), 7; B. Haussoullier, *Rev. de Phil.* xvii (1893), 188; Michel, *Recueil*, 33; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 2, 150; cp. E. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894), pp. 623 foll.; Köhler, *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1898, pp. 124, 125.

[Ἐπὶ Δεισιθέο[u] πρυτάνεος παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου Χίω[u]  
τῶι] | δῆ[μ]ωι. | Τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς ἐκ Χίου κατιέναι πάντας, πολί-

τεομα δὲ [εἴ]ναι ἐν Χίῳ δῆμον. αἰρεθῆναι δὲ νομογράφους, οἵτινες  
 5 γρά[ψουσι καὶ διορθώσουσι τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐναντίου ἢ  
 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μηδὲ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων καθόδῳ· τὰ δὲ δι[ορθωθέντα  
 ἢ γραφέντα ἐπαναφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. | παρέχειν δὲ Χίους  
 τριῆρεις εἴκοσι πεπληρωμένας τοῖς ἀ[ν]τὼν τέλεσιν, ταύτας δὲ πλείν  
 10 μέχρι ἂν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ναοτι[κόν] τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεθ' ἡμῶν  
 συμπλή. τῶν δὲ προδόντων | τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν πόλιν ὅσοι μὲν  
 ἂν προεξέλθωσιν, φεόγειν | αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς  
 εἰρήνης κοινωνου[σῶν καὶ εἶναι ἀγωγίμους κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων· ὅσοι] | δ' ἂν ἐγκαταλειφθῶσιν, ἐπανάγεσθαι καὶ κρί-  
 15 νεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλ[λ]ήνων συνεδρίῳ. ἐὰν δέ τι ἀντιλέγεται  
 τοῖς κατεληλυ[θόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, κρίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦτο  
 αὐτοὺς πα[ρ'] ἡμῖν. μέχρι ἂν διαλλαγῶσι Χίοι, φυλακὴν εἶναι παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς πα[ρ'] Ἀλε[ξ]άνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἂν ἱκανὴ ἦ· τρέφειν  
 δὲ | ταύτην Χίους.

Chios in 351-350 B. C. was under an oligarchy (Dem. xv. *de Rhod. lib.* 19). In the spring of B. C. 333 the Persian admiral Memnon, with the help of the oligarchical party, occupied Chios, in which in the previous year the oligarchy, owing to the failure of Persian power, had been replaced by a democracy. Memnon first, and then his nephew Pharnabazos defended the city, which was finally handed over to the Makedonian besiegers by the popular party (spring of B. C. 332 ?). The leaders of the oligarchical party were banished to Egypt, to the island of Elephantine (Arrian, iii. 2. 3-7; Q. Curtius, iii. 1. 3). This rescript was probably written before the recovery of the city. Köhler even holds that it was in the first instance addressed not to the Chians but to the Makedonian admiral Hegelochos; the address as at present, and also the Ionic colouring, were added by the Chians in transferring the document to stone. It was part of Alexander's policy to restore democracies (Arrian, i. 18. 2). The peace mentioned in line 12 is the peace of Korinth. The oligarchs who failed to make good their escape were to be tried as Medizers before the general council of the Greeks which met at the Isthmos. The garrison here mentioned was the subject of a complaint made by the Chians to Alexander in 331 B. C., and was probably then removed (Q. Curtius, iv. 8. 12).

## 159 [126].

Revolutions at Erythrai in the time of Alexander :  
B. C. 333-332.

Inscription found at Chios, whither it had been carried from Erythrai; now at Vienna. Kirehloff, *Monatsb. d. Berlin. Akad.* 1863, p. 265; Sauppe, *Commentatio de duabus inscriptionibus Lesbicis*, p. 30; Michel, *Recueil*, 364; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 139; cp. A. Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 228; 1900, p. 104; Dareste, &c., *Inscr. Jurid. Gr.* ii. p. 177.

§ 1. Decree for the restoration and decoration of the statue of Philitos the tyrannicide:

- Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Ζωῖλος Χιά-  
δου εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τῆς εἰ-  
κόνοϛ τῆς Φιλίτου, τοῦ ἀποκτείναντοϛ  
τὸν τύραννον, τοῦ ἀνδριάντοϛ ἐξεῖλον  
5 τὸ ξίφος, νομίζοντεϛ καθόλου τὴν στάσιν  
καθ' αὐτῶν εἶναι, ὅπῳς ἂν ὁ δῆμοϛ φαίνεται  
πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενοϛ καὶ μνημο-  
νεύων ἀεὶ τῶν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ζώντων  
καὶ τετελευτηκότων· Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· δεδόχθαι  
10 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· τοὺς ἐξετασταὺϛ το[ῦ]-  
ϛ ἐνεστηκότ[α]ϛ ἐγδοῦναι τὸ ἔργον διαστολὴν  
ποιησαμένους μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονοϛ καθότι  
συντελεσθήσεται ὥϛ πρότερον εἶχεν· ὑπηρετεῖ[ι]-  
ν δὲ αὐτοῖϛ τὸγ κατὰ μῆνα ταμίαν. ὅπῳς δὲ καθαρὸϛ  
15 [ι]οῦ ἔσται ὁ ἀνδριὰϛ καὶ στεφανωθήσεται ἀεὶ ταῖϛ  
νομηνίαιϛ καὶ ταῖϛ ἄλλαιϛ ἑορταῖϛ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
τοὺϛ ἀγορανόμοϛ.

Line 5: 'that the erection of the statue was a protest against themselves.' Line 10: the ἐξετασταὶ are the chief financial officers of the state (Gäbler, *Erythrä*, p. 120). Line 11: διαστολήν, 'specification'; cp. Polyb. xvi. 14; xxi. 6.

Line 12: ἀρχιτέκτων, 'the contractor.' Line 15: the statue was of bronze. Patina was not appreciated until a later date.

§ 2. *Additional resolution, moved by the same person, that the monthly treasures of the state-funds shall supply the commissioners of the market with money for the decoration of the statue:*

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ζωῖλος Χιάδου  
 εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ πρότερον ψηφίσματι προσε-  
 20 τάχθη τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εἰκόνης  
 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ Φιλίτου, ὅπως στεφανω-  
 θήσεται τε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ὃ δὲ ἀγορανόμος  
 φησὶν εἰς ταῦτα πόρου δεῖσθαι· Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·  
 δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· τὸ μὲν καθ' ἑ-  
 25 τος εἰς ταῦτα διδόναι τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦς  
 [κα]τὰ μῆνα ταμίας, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν  
 [ἀγορα]νόμον, εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον οἱ  
 - - - - πωλοῦντες τὰς ὥνας προστι - - -  
 - - - - τῶν στεφ[ά]νων - - -

In lines 24-25 καθ' ἔτος = 'for this year,' not 'annually.' The decline of Athenian influence in the Aegaeon, and the consequent extension of Persian dominion, favoured the growth of oligarchies and tyrannies in the islands (see nos. 139, 157, 164). It is well known (see p. 312), that Philip impartially assisted any faction which promised to further Makedonian interests: and herein Alexander followed his example. The consequence was a perpetual series of revolutions throughout the cities of the Aegaeon which supplied Aristotle with abundance of material for his political speculations, and explains at once the importance and the wisdom of Alexander's recall of the exiles in 334 B.C. (cp. nos. 157, 158).



## 160 [127].

Seuthes III king of the Odrysai communicates with  
Athens: B. C. 330.

Found near the theatre at Athens. Στοιχῆδόν. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. (1) 175 b, p. 412. Above the heading is a relief: a man approaches Athena, holding a phialé; behind him are two horses. Cp. Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 1. p. 392 n.; Hœck, *das Odrysenreich*, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 116.

\*Ρηβούλας, Σεύθου υἱός, Κότνος ἀδελφός, ἀγγελ[ος].

Θεο[ί].

\*Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους ἄρχοντος.

\*Ἐπὶ τῆς Κ[εκ]ροπίδος δεκάτης πρυτ[α]-

5 νείας Σκ[ιρ]οφοριῶνος δεκάτη ἰστ[α]-  
αμένον, [ἐκ]τει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτ[α]-  
ανείας τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή[φι]ζε [Δω]-  
ρόθε[ος] Ἀλα[κί]ους.

ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Νο[θ] - - Διο[-

10 μειν[ς] εἶπε· περὶ ᾧ δὲ δῆμος πρότερον ἐψήφισται ἐπὶ  
τῆς - - ἰδο[ς] πρυτανείας, [τοὺς] προέδρους οἱ ἀν' ἀχ-  
ωσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ προ[ε]δρεύειν κ.τ.λ.

The date is June 330 B. C., Alexander having defeated Dareios at Arbela in October 331. Meanwhile the effect of his absence was seen in various movements in the direction of Greek liberty. (Aischin. *in Otes.* 164 foll. describes the hopes of the anti-Makedonian party at that time.) The chief rising was under Agis in the Peloponnese in the spring of 330 B. C., which was promptly crushed by Antipatros in one decisive battle in Arkadia. Antipatros was however hampered in reaching Peloponnese by the critical state of N. Greece. In Thrace Memnon the Makedonian commander had revolted, and Zopyrion had rashly invaded Skythia and met with disaster (Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. Staaten*, i. p. 171). Our inscription shows that the Odrysai shared in the movement, and were acting in concert with the rising in Greece proper. Seuthes sends his son Rhebulas to Athens, and perhaps to other Greek states. Although welcomed at Athens, as this inscription proves, he was not able to effect anything. The

Athenians took no part in the revolt, and Demosthenes himself, while warmly sympathizing with the movement, did not counsel more decided action (Diod. xvii. 62, 63; Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 1. 392; Q. Curtius, x. 1. 43, seems to refer to these events, but he is out in his chronology. See Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, iii. 200).

## 161 [128].

## Administration of Lykurgos; building of the Stadion :

B. C. 330-320.

Found on the Akropolis. Στοιχῆδόν, but lines of varying length. Köhler, *C. I. A.* ii. 176; cp. Velsen in *Archäol. Zeitung (Anzeiger)*, 1859, p. 70\*; Cobet, *Mnemos.* x (1861), p. 95; Egger, *Mém. d'hist. anc.* p. 60; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 151; Michel, *Recueil*, 109.

- [Εὐδῆμ]ου Πλαται[έως.  
 'Επὶ 'Αριστ]οφῶντος ἄρχοντ[ος  
 ἐπὶ τῆς] Λεωντίδος ἐνάτη[s πρ-  
 υτανεία]s, ἥι 'Αντιδωρος 'Αν[τ]ί[νου  
 5 Παιανι]εὺς ἐγραμμάτευν· ἔ[v-  
 δεκάτ]ηι Θαρρηλιῶνος· ἐνάτη[ι  
 καὶ δε]κάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας·  
 [τῶν πρ]οέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν 'Αν-  
 [τιφάνης] Εὐωνυμεύς· ἔδοξεν τ[ῶι  
 10 δῆμωι]· Λυκούργος Λυκόφρονος  
 [Βουτά]δης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ  
 [Εὐδῆμ]ος πρότερόν τε ἐπ[ηγγε]λ-  
 [λατο τ]ῶι δῆμωι ἐπιδώσει[ν εἰ]s  
 [τὸν π]όλεμον εἴ τ[ι] δέ[οι]το [XXX]X  
 15 [δ]ραχμὰς καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ιδέδ[ω]κεν]  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ σταδ[ίου]  
 καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθη[ναϊ]-  
 κοῦ χίλια ζεύγη καὶ ταῦτα  
 πέπομφεν ἅπαντα π[ρὸ Π]αναθη-  
 20 ναίων καθὰ ὑπέσ[χετο, δ]εδόχθ[αι]  
 τῶι δῆμωι ἐπα[νέσαι Ε]ὐδῆμ[ου]  
 Φι[λούργου Π]λατα[ιέα] καὶ σ[τε]-  
 φανῶσαι αὐτὸ[ν θαλ]λο[ῦ] στεφ[άνωι]  
 εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν

- 25 δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἶν[αι]  
 αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς εὐεργέταις το[ῦ]  
 δῆμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν κα[λ]  
 ἐκγόνους· καὶ εἶναι αὐτῶι  
 ἐνκτησιω γῆς καὶ οἰκ[ί]ας καὶ  
 30 στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν τὰς  
 στρατῖας καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς  
 εἰσφέρειν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων.  
 ἀναγράψαι [δ]ὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ  
 35 στήσαι ἐν ἀκρ[ο]πόλει· εἰ[ς] δ[ὲ] τ[ῇ]ν  
 ἀναγραφῇν τῆς στήλῃ[ς] δοῦναι[ι]  
 τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δῆμου[ου - -]  
 δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κ[ατὰ ψη]-  
 φίσματα ἀναλίσκομέ[νων τῶι]  
 40 δῆμωι.

The financial administrations of Lykurgos began in mid-summer 338 B. C., and lasted for three *πεντητηρίδες*, i. e. twelve years, until midsummer 326. His public services are recounted by Plutarch, *Vit. X. Oratt.* vii., cp. no. 145 (ed. 1). Of his public works the chief were the repair of the great Theatre, and the building of the Panathenaic Stadion. In line 17, however, the 'Panathenaic Theatre' is not the great Theatre, but the theatre-like seating of the stadion (see Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das griech. Theater*, pp. 31, 282). *ζεῦγος* is a cart and pair, for the hauling of marble and the carting away of earth (cp. no. 90). *εἰς τὸν πόλεμον*, l. 13 foll., may surprise us: for what war were the Athenians likely to engage in? It was well known to Alexander however that Athens was only submissive to him under compulsion, and no. 160 significantly shows the feelings of the time. Two great works of Lykurgos himself were the rebuilding of the Athenian fortifications and the erection of an arsenal (*σκευοθήκη*). Line 29 foll.: his burthens, if he resided at Athens, were to be those of a citizen and not those of a *metoikos*. The exact date of the decree presents some difficulty. In lines 5-6 *ἐνδεκάτῃ* fills the gap exactly; but from another inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. 177) it is clear that the fourteenth day of Thargelion was the thirty-second of the ninth prytany;

hence the eleventh day of the same month should be the twenty-ninth day of the prytany, and not the nineteenth, as in lines 6–7 here. We assume therefore an error of δεκάτηι for εικοστῇι, suggested by the presence of ἐνδεκάτηι in the previous line.

## 162 [129].

Dedication at Olympia by one of Alexander's  
quartermasters: B. C. 330–320.

A statue-base excavated at Olympia: Dittenberger, *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 139; cp. *Olympia*, v. p. 403, no. 276; *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 156; Michel, *Recueil*, 1088; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. pp. 48, 49. A fragment of a similar base is edited *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1879, p. 209.

Β[α]σιλέως Ἀλε[ξάνδρου]  
ἡμεροδόμος καὶ  
βηματιστῆς τῆς Ἀσίας  
Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου Κρής  
5 Χερσονάσιος ἀνέθηκε  
Διὶ Ὀλυμπίοι (sic).

This statue is mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 16. 4: ἔστηκεν . . . καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου. We transcribe the remarks of Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 2, p. 383, where, speaking of the materials anciently available for the history of Alexander, he says: 'We may say much the same (as of the log-book of Nearchos and the Ἐφημερίδες βασιλεῖοι) of what is told us concerning Alexander's βηματισταί (steppers). There could not fail to be a full staff of quartermasters in Alexander's army, who had among other duties to arrange each day's march, to direct the route of the several columns, to mark out the place of encampment, &c. The memoranda drawn up by these officers in the execution of their duties yielded exact information concerning the distances and routes traversed, which was of the highest importance to the geographical studies of the following time. We hear of Βαίτων ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου βηματιστῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Σταθμοὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πορείας (Athen.

x. 442), or again, of "Diognetus et Baeton itinerum eius mensores" (Plin. *N. H.* vi. 21. 61), or else 'Αμύντας ἐν τοῖς σταθοῖς, from whose First Book is cited a note about Syria, and from the Third a note upon Nineveh. Archelaos also, ὁ χωρογράφος τῆς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πατηθείσης γῆς (Diog. L. ii. § 17), may have served, though Diogenes does not say so, in Alexander's army. It is worth observing that Patrokles, governor of Babylon under Seleukos I, the explorer of the Caspian sea, asserted in his work on geography that Alexander's officers drew up a summary account (ἐπιδρομάδην) of the countries they traversed, which Alexander himself revised (ἀκριβῶσαι), and put into the most expert hands to be edited (Strabo, ii. 69). Another of Alexander's ἡμεροδρόμοι was Antimenes of Rhodes, according to Wilcken's certain emendation of ἡμιόδιος in Pseudo-Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 34 (*Hermes*, 1901, p. 194).

## 163.

## The Boiotian Allies of Alexander.

Not later than 329 B. C.

From Orchomenos. Now lost. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* iii. 452; Meister, *Bezenb. Beitr.* v. 205; Larfeld, *Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* 11; Meister, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 470; Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 291; Dittenberger, *C. Inscr. Gr. Sept.* i. 3206.

[Τοὶ ἱππότη το]ὶ ἐν τὰν Ἀσία[ν] στ[ρατευσάμενοι βα-  
σιλεῖο]ς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στραταγίοντος, . . . . .

. οδωρίῳ Φιλαρχίουτος, Διὶ Σωτεῖρι ἀν[έθιαν]

Πρό[ππει] Θιογιτόνιος, Μνασίδικος Ἀθανοδ[ώριος],

5 Δαμοσθένεις Πουρρίνιος, Θιοδότος Πο[υθιῆος], Δι]-  
ογίτων Διωνύσιος and eighteen other names.

The Greek allies of Alexander were sent home by the king at the end of 330 B. C. when the war against Persia, for which they had volunteered, was closed. This dedication to Zeus Soter on their safe return must therefore belong at latest to the next year. The Orchomenians belonged to the ἱππεῖς ζύμμαχοι, who are distinguished by Arrian from the Thessalian cavalry and Greek mercenaries. A similar dedication by Thespians is recorded in the *Anthology* (iv. 334):

Θεσπιαὶ εὐρύχοροι πέμψαν ποτὲ τοῦσδε σὺν ὄπλοις  
 τιμωροὺς προγόνων βάρβαρον εἰς Ἀσίην,  
 οἱ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου Περσῶν ἄσπη καθελόντες  
 στήσαν Ἐριβρεμέτη δαιδάλεον τρίποδα.

## 164 [131].

Return of the Exiles at Mytilene by Alexander's  
 edict: B. C. 324.

A marble slab, broken into two pieces (A and B), at St. Therapia, Mytilene. Στοιχηδόν. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2166, and add. pp. 1022-1023. Four excellent paper impressions were brought by Newton from Mytilene. A: Conze, *Reise auf Lesbos*, pl. viii. 2; Blass, *Hermes*, xiii (1878), 384. B: *C. I. G.* 2166, &c. A and B: Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekt-Inscr.* 214; Causer, *Delectus*, 428; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. p. 555; Michel, *Recueil*, 356; Paton, *Inscr. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.* ii. 6. Cp. Lolling, *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.* xi (1886), 272; Swoboda, *Gr. Bürgerr.* p. 126.

§ 1. *The exiles to return on condition of good behaviour.  
 Measures for the preservation of harmony.*

..... οἱ β]ασ[ίλῃες προστίθε]σ[θ]ον τῶι κατεληλύθου-  
 τι ὡς τέχναν τεχνα]μ[ένω] τῶ ἔ[ν] τ[αῖ] πόλι πρόσθε [ξ]ουτος· αἱ δὲ κέ τις  
 τῶν κατεληλυθόν]των μ[η] ἐμμένῃ ἐν ταῖς διαλυσί[ε]σσι ταύτ[αι]σι,  
 μηδὲ ποτε . . . .] [έσθω παρ τῆς πόλιος κτήματος μήδενος, μ[η]δὲ σ[τ]-  
 ειχέτω ἐπὶ μ[η]δεν τῶμ παρεχώρησαν αὐτῶι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλι πρόσθε  
 ξουτες, ἀλλὰ σ[τ]εῖχοντο ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οἱ παρχωρήσα[ν]-  
 τες αὐτῶι ἐκ τῶν] ἐν τῇ πόλι πρόσθε ἐόντων, καὶ οἱ στρόταγοι εἰς  
 [αὐθις ἀποφέρο]ντο ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλι πρόσθε ξοντα τὰ κτήματα  
 [ταῦτα ὡς τεχνα]μένω τῶ κατεληλύθοντος, καὶ οἱ βασίλῃ[ε]ς προστί-  
 10 [θεσθον τῶι ἐν τ]ῇ πόλι πρόσθε ξοντι ὡς τέχναν τεχνα]μ[ένω] τῶ κα-  
 [τεληλύθοντος]· μηδ' αἱ κέ τις δίκαν γράφηται περὶ τ[ο]ύτων, μ[η] εἰσα-  
 [γοντο οἱ περι]δρομοὶ καὶ οἱ δικάσκοποι, μηδὲ ἄ[λλ]α ἄρχα μηδὲ ἴα.  
 [ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ] τοῖς στροτάγοις καὶ τοῖς β[ασίλῃ]as καὶ τοῖς πε-  
 [ριδρόμοις καὶ το]ῖς δικασκόποις καὶ ταῖς [ἄλλ]αῖς ἀρχαῖς, αἱ κε  
 15 [φυλάσσεται πάν]τα ὡς ἐν τῶι ψ[αφίσματι] τούτῳι, κ[αὶ] κατὰ γρευτον  
 [τὸν ἀθέτεντά τι τῶν ἐν τῶι ψαφίσματι γεγρα]μμένων, ὥς κε μ[η]δ-  
 [εν διάφορον εἴη τοῖς κατεληλυθόντεσσι π]ρὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλι

[πρόσθε ξοντας, ἀλλὰ διάγοιεν οἱ διαλε]λύμενοι πάντες πρὸς ἀλ-  
 [λάλοις ἀνυπόπτως καὶ ἀνεπιβουλευ]τως καὶ ἐμμένειεν ἐν τῇ ἀ-  
 20 [πυκρίσει τῇ τῷ βασιλῆος καὶ ἐν τῇ]ι διαλύσει τῇ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψα-  
 [φίσματι γραφεῖσαι. καὶ ἔλεσθ]αι τὸν δᾶμον ἄνδρας εἴκοσι, δέκα  
 [μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατελθόντων, δέκα] δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρόσθε ἐόντων.  
 [οὔτοι δὲ σπουδαίως φυλάσσ]οντον καὶ ἐπιμέλεσθον, ὥς μῆδεν ἔσ-  
 [σεται διάφορον τοῖς κα]τελθόντεσσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πρόσ-  
 25 [θε ἐόντεσσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα] καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητημένων κτημάτων  
 [ταῦτα δὲ πράσσοντον κ]αὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔοντας καὶ πρὸς  
 [τὸν κατέλθοντα, ὥς μ]ὲν διαλυθήσονται· αἱ δὲ μῆ, ἔσσονται ὥς δίκ-  
 [ασται. οὕτω δὲ ἐν τα]ῖς διαλυσίεσσι, ταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέκρινε,  
 [καὶ ἐν τῇ διαλλάγ]αι ἐμμενέοισι πάντες καὶ οἰκήσοισι τὰμ πό-  
 30 [λιν ἀτρέστως καὶ ὁμο]νόεοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλοις.

§ 2. Further points to be referred to the Assembly. The Council may supplement this decree if necessary.

Καὶ περὶ χρημάτων  
 [- - - -]θαι ταῖς διαλύσεσι ὥς πλείστα, καὶ περὶ ὄρκω,  
 [τόν κε ἀπομόσσωσι οἱ] πόλιται, περὶ τούτων πάντων, ὅσσα κε ὁμο-  
 [λογήσωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλο]ις, οἱ ἀγρέθεντες ἄνδρες φέροντον ἐπὶ τ-  
 [ὸν δᾶμον· ὁ δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύσαις, αἱ κὲ ἄγεται συμφέρην, βολλευέτω  
 35 [κύρια ἔμμεναι πάντα τὰ] ὁμολογήμενα πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμφέρον-  
 [τα τῷ τε δάμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατ]ελθόντεσσι ἐπὶ Σμιθίνα προτάνιος,  
 [καθὼ κε ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ψαφί]σθη· αἱ δὲ κὲ τι ἐνδεύῃ τῷ ψαφίσματος  
 [τούτῳ, τὰν κρίσιν ἔμμεναι ἐπ]ὶ τῇ βόλλαι.

§ 3. Sacrifices to follow on the passing of the decree.

κυρώθεντος δὲ τῷ ψαφίς-  
 [ματος ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ, σύμπαντα] τὸν δᾶμον ἐν τῇ εἰκοσιτῇ τῷ μῆννος  
 40 [θύσασθαι καὶ εὐξασθαι] τοῖς θεοῖσι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ εὐδαίμ-  
 [ονίαι καὶ τύχαι τᾶς πόλιος] γένεσθαι τὰν διάλυσιν τοῖς κατελ-  
 [θόντεσσι καὶ τοῖς πρόσθε] ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐόντεσσι· τοῖ[s] δὲ ἱρᾶς τ-  
 [ε καὶ ἱεροποίοις πάνας καὶ] ταῖς ἱρείαις δέιγην τοῖς ναύοις, καὶ  
 [τὰν πόλιν πανδᾶμι προσέλ]θην. τὰ δὲ ἱρα τὰ ὁ δᾶμος εὐξάτο ὅτε ἐξ-  
 45 [έπεμψε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις πρὸς] τὸν βασιλῆα, ἀπυδόμεναι τοῖς βασι-  
 [λῆος γενεθλίοισι κατ' ἐνίαν]τον· παρέμμεναι δὲ τῇ θυσίαι καὶ [το-  
 [ις εἴκοσι ἄνδρας καὶ τοῖς ἀ]γγέλοις τοῖς πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα πέμψ-

θεντας τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πρόσθε] ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐόντων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
κατελθόντων.

§ 4. *The decree to be inscribed.*

τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγράφαντας τοῖς - - -

The letters are beautifully inscribed *στοιχηδόν*. The restorations, which are taken from various sources, are merely suggestions as to the probable sequence of construction and meaning. The dialect is Aiolic, but some forms are peculiar: l. 15 *κατάγρευτον* = *καθαιρούντων*, as *ἀγρέθεντες* l. 33 = *αἰρεθέντες*; *δείλην* l. 43 is *οἶνευ*. We may understand *διαλυσίεσσι* l. 28 to refer to decisions which Alexander had given in special cases of difficulty on which he had been consulted by envoys.

When Alexander sent Nikanor to Olympia, in July 324 B. C., to proclaim the restoration of all exiles throughout Greece, he was not influenced by a merely selfish policy. His father Philip had with much impartiality aided either or any faction in the Greek states which would help him in his policy of aggression; and therefore the first to benefit by Alexander's edict would be the banished enemies of Makedonian interests. Large numbers of them had enlisted in the Persian service; but now the victories of Alexander left them without home or object, and they were finding their way back to become a source of disquiet throughout Greece. The edict was therefore a wise exercise of despotic power, in the interests of peace. It was obeyed by all except the Aitolians (who feared the vengeance of the exiles of Oiniadai), and the Athenians, who, having occupied Samos with *kleruchs* in 365-352 B. C., were loth to lose their possessions (see no. 114). How much excitement and disturbance was caused by the return of the exiles is shown by the crowd of envoys which hastened to Alexander at Babylon ἐξ ἀπάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης (Diod. xvii. 113; Arrian, vii. 19). For the troubles at Eresos see no. 157. The present fragment shows us how matters gradually settled down at Mytilene: see Droysen, *Hellen.* i. 2. p. 291. The *βασίλῃες* are a college, the chief magistrates of the state, and were probably under the presidency of the *prytanis*.



## 165 [132].

## Honours to Gorgos and Minnion of Iasos: B. C. 323 (P).

Found at Chios, whither it must have been taken from Iasos as ballast. Böckh, *C. I. G.* 2672; C. Curtius, *Inscr. u. Stud. zur Gesch. von Samos* (Lübeck Progr. 1877), p. 24; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 157; Bechtel, *Inscr. d. Ion. Dial.* 105; Michel, *Recueil*, no. 461.

[Ἐπει]δ[ὴ] Γ[ό]ργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ-  
 [ου υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ κάγαθοὶ γεγέννηται  
 [πε]ρὶ τ[ὸ] κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως,  
 [κα]ὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδίαί εἰ [π]-  
 5 εποιήκασιν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς  
 θαλάσσης διαλεχθέντες  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐκομίσαντο  
 [κ]αὶ ἀπέδωκαν τῷ δήμῳ· δεδόσθαι  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις ἀτέλειαν καὶ  
 10 προεδρίην εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον·  
 ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῇ  
 παραστάδι τῇ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου.

Concerning Gorgos and his brother see no. 135 (ed. 1), and cp. Athen. p. 538 b. Gorgos was in the service of Alexander as ὄπλοφύλαξ, and perhaps identical with the author of a work on mines (Strabo, p. 700). The 'little sea' is the *sinus Iasius*, a wild and gloomy inlet, which was probably valuable for its fishing: see Athen. p. 105 e, and Strabo, p. 658: Ἰασὸς ἐπὶ νήσῳ κείται προσκειμένη τῇ ἡπείρῳ· ἔχει δὲ λιμένα, καὶ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἐκ θαλάττης. In line 9, ἐγγόνοις is used, as often, for ἐκγόνοις; cp. no. 148 (ed. 1). We may doubt whether it is due to a phonological change, as Jannaris supposes (*Hist. Gr. Grammar*, § 59 a), and not rather a mere misuse of one word for another.

# ATHENIAN ARCHONS

FROM 500-321 B. C.

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B. C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities<sup>1</sup>.</i>
70. 1	500-499	Myros (Smyros)	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> v. 50.
2	499-498	{ Some time during this period : Lakratides }	Philoch. fr. 83 (Sch. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 220); cp. Suid. Λακρατίδης, Phot. Λακρατίδας.
3	498-497		
4	497-496		
71. 1	496-495	Hipparchos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> v. 77; vi. 1.
2	495-494	Philippos	Anon. <i>vit. Soph.</i> (Westerm. p. 127).
3	494-493	Pythokritos	Marm. Par. 47.
4	493-492	Themistokles	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vi. 34.
72. 1	492-491	Diognetos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vi. 49.
2	491-490	Hybrilides	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vii. 1; Paus. vi. 9. 5.
3	490-489	Phainippos δ δεύτερος	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22; Marm. Par. 48. Φάνιππος Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 5.
4	489-488	Aristeides	Marm. Par. 49; Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 5.
73. 1	488-487	Anchises	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> viii. 1.
2	487-486	Telesines	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22.
3	486-485	—	
4	485-484	Philokrates	Marm. Par. 50.
74. 1	484-483	Leostratos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> viii. 77.
2	483-482	Nikodemos	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant.</i> <i>Rom.</i> viii. 83.
3	482-481	—	
4	481-480	Hypsichides	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 22.
75. 1	480-479	Kalliades	Hdt. viii. 51; Marm. Par. 51; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 1; Diod. xi. 1; Diog. La. ii. 37; <i>Vita Eurip.</i> (Westerm. pp. 133, 139).
2	479-478	Xanthippos	Marm. Par. 52; Diod. xi. 27. Ξανθιπ- πίδης Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 5.
3	478-477	Timosthenes	Marm. Par. 53; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 23; Diod. xi. 38.

<sup>1</sup> The list of authorities does not pretend to be exhaustive. The Marmor Parium, for the earlier part, is quoted by the sections of the text in Müller, *F. H. G.* i. pp. 542 foll. The recently discovered portion (B. C. 336-335 onwards) is quoted from Krispi's text in *Mith. d. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abh.* xxii (1897), p. 187, the numbers of the lines being given in *italics*. Where an archon is mentioned several times in the *C. I. A.*, only a selection of the references is given.

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B. C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
75. 4	477-476	Adeimantos	Marm. Par. 54; Simon. Fr. 147 Bgk.; Diod. xi. 41; Plut. <i>Them.</i> 5.
76. 1	476-475	Phaidon	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 18; Diod. xi. 48; Plut. <i>Thes.</i> 36; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
2	475-474	Dromokleides	Diod. xi. 50.
3	474-473	Akestorides	Diod. xi. 51.
4	473-472	Menon	Diod. xi. 52; Arg. Aischyl. <i>Pers.</i>
77. 1	472-471	Chares	Marm. Par. 55; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 37; Diod. xi. 53.
2	471-470	Praxiergos	Diod. xi. 54.
3	470-469	Demotion	Diod. xi. 60.
4	469-468	Apsephion	Marm. Par. 56; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 82 (Diog. La. ii. 44). 'Αψεφίων Plut. <i>Cim.</i> 8. Φαίων Diod. xi. 63.
78. 1	468-467	Theagenides	Marm. Par. 57; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 56; Diod. xi. 65; Schol. Ar. <i>Lys.</i> 1144; Arg. Aischyl. <i>Sept.</i>
2	467-466	Lysistratos	Diod. xi. 66. Λυσίστρωτος Diog. La. ii. 11.
3	466-465	Lysanias	Diod. xi. 67.
4	465-464	Lysitheos	Diod. xi. 69.
79. 1	464-463	Archedemides	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> ix. 61; Diod. xi. 70. 'Αρχιμήδης Paus. iv. 24. 5.
2	463-462	Tlepolemos	Diod. xi. 71.
3	462-461	Konon	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 25; Diod. xi. 74.
4	461-460	Euthippos	Marm. Par. 58; Diod. xi. 75 ( <i>v. l.</i> <i>Εὐίππος</i> ).
80. 1	460-459	Phrasikles	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 1; [Plut.] <i>X</i> <i>Or.</i> , <i>Lys.</i> 835 C. Φρασικλείδης Diod. xi. 77.
2	459-458	Philokles	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 971 (p. 219); Diod. xi. 78; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Lys.</i> 835 C; Arg. Aischyl. <i>Ag.</i>
3	458-457	Habron	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 971. 'Αβίων Thom. Mag. <i>Vit. Pind.</i> βίων Diod. xi. 79.
4	457-456	Mnesitheides	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 26; Diod. xi. 81. <i>Μνησιθεός</i> Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 10.
81. 1	456-455	Kallias	Marm. Par. 59; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 26; Diod. xi. 84; Schol. Aischin. ii. 78; Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 10; <i>Vita</i> <i>Eurip.</i> (Westerm. p. 134).
2	455-454	Sosistratos	Diod. xi. 85.
3	454-453	Ariston	Δελτ. ἀρχ. 1891, pp. 105 foll.; Diod. xi. 86.
4	453-452	Lysikrates	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 26; Diod. xi. 88; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
82. 1	452-451	Chairephanes	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 53.
2	451-450	Antidotos	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 26; Diod. xi. 91.
3	450-449	Euthynos	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (1). 22 a (p. 7). Εὐθύνημος Diod. xii. 3.
4	449-448	Pedieus	Diod. xii. 4.
83. 1	448-447	Philiskos	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> x. 61; xi. 1; Diod. xii. 5.
2	447-446	Timarchides	Diod. xii. 6.

Ol.	B. C.	Name.	Authorities.
83. 3	446-445	Kallimachos	Diod. xii. 7.
4	445-444	Lysimachides	Philoch. fr. 90 (Schol. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 718); Diod. xii. 22.
84. 1	444-443	Praxiteles	Diod. xii. 23; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Lys</i> 835 D.
2	443-442	Lysanias	Diod. xii. 24.
3	442-441	Diphilos	Marm. Par. 60; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> xi. 62; Diod. xii. 26.
4	441-440	Timokles	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xii. 27.
85. 1	440-439	Morychides	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67; Suid. <i>Εὐθυμένης</i> . <i>Μυριχίδης</i> Diod. xii. 29.
2	439-438	Glaukinos	Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67. <i>Γλαυκίδης</i> Diod. xii. 30.
3	438-437	Theodoros	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Philoch. fr. 97 (Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 605, v.l. <i>Πυθόδωρος</i> ); Schol. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67; Diod. xii. 31.
4	437-436	Euthymenes	<i>C. I. A. i.</i> 314; Ar. <i>Ach.</i> 67 cum Schol.; Philoch. fr. 98 ( <i>Ἡραποκρ. προπύλαια</i> ); Suidas <i>Εὐθυμένης</i> ; Diod. xii. 32; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
86. 1	436-435	Lysimachos <i>Μυρρινούσιος</i>	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Dion. Hal. <i>Isocr.</i> 1; Diog. La. iii. 3; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Isocr.</i> 836 F. <i>Ναυσίμαχος</i> Diod. xii. 33.
2	435-434	Antiochides	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xii. 34.
3	434-433	Krates	<i>C. I. A. i.</i> 283, 301. <i>Χάρης</i> Diod. xii. 35.
4	433-432	Apseudes	Nos. 51, 52; <i>C. I. A. i.</i> 283; Philoch. fr. 99 (Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 997); Diod. xii. 36; Ptolem. <i>Almag.</i> iii. 2.
87. 1	432-431	Pythodoros	Thuk. ii. 2; 'Αθ. Πολ. 27; Philoch. fr. 99 (Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 997); Philoch. ap. Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 990; Diod. xii. 37; Arg. Eurip. <i>Med.</i> <i>Σκυθόδωρος</i> Philoch. fr. 97 (Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 605).
2	431-430	Euthydemos	Diod. xii. 38; Athen. v. 217 A.
3	430-429	Apollodoros	Diod. xii. 43; Athen. v. 217 A; Anon. iii. <i>περὶ κωμ.</i> 43 (Dübner).
4	429-428	Epameinon	<i>C. I. A. i.</i> 195; Athen. v. 217 E. 'Επα- μινώνδας Diod. xii. 46. 'Αμείνων Arg. <i>Eur. Hipp.</i> 'Αμεινίας Diog. La. iii. 3.
88. 1	428-427	Diotimos	Diod. xii. 49; Anon. iii. <i>περὶ κωμ.</i> 50 (Dübner).
2	427-426	Eukles <i>Μόλωνος</i>	Arist. <i>Meteor.</i> i. 6. 8; Andron. fr. 7 (Suid. et Phot. <i>Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος</i> ); Demetr. ap. Sch. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 240. <i>Εὐκλείδης</i> Diod. xii. 53; Schol. Ar. <i>Eq.</i> 237.
3	426-425	Euthynos	No. 62; Philoch. fr. 106 (Schol. Luc. <i>Tim.</i> 30). <i>Εὐθύδημος</i> Diod. xii. 58; Athen. v. 218 B; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Ach.</i> <i>Vita Thuc.</i> (Westerm. p. 202).
4	425-424	Stratokles	Nos. 62, 64; Strab. viii. 359; Diod. xii. 60; Arg. ii. Ar. <i>Eq.</i> ; Schol. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 584.

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B. C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
89. 1	424-423	Isarchos	No. 62; <i>C. I. A.</i> iv (1). 179 a (p. 32); Philoch. fr. 90 (Sch. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 718); fr. 107 (Sch. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 210); ap. Sch. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 990; Androt. fr. 46 (Sch. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 549); Diod. xii. 65; Athen. v. 218 D; Arg. v. Ar. <i>Nub.</i>
2	423-422	Ameinias	Androt. fr. 46 (Sch. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 549); Diod. xii. 72; Athen. v. 218 D; Schol. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 31; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> ; v. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> ; Schol. Luc. <i>Tim.</i> 30; Anon. <i>Vit. Plat.</i> (Westerm. p. 390).
3	422-421	Alkaïos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 971; Thuk. v. 19, 25; Philoch. fr. 108 (Schol. Ar. <i>Pac.</i> 466; 'Αλκιβιάδης, 'Αλκμαίων); Androt. fr. 46 (Schol. Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 549); Diod. xii. 73; Athen. v. 215 D, 218 B, D, E; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Pac.</i>
4	421-420	Aristion	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 45, 46, 260, 318; iv (1). 225 k (p. 174); Athen. v. 216 D, F, 218 D. 'Αριστων Diod. vii. 75; Schol. Aischin. ii. 186.
90. 1	420-419	Astyphilos	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 318; iv (1). 225 k (p. 174); Marm. Par. 61; Diod. xii. 77; Athen. v. 218 D.
2	419-418	Archias	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 972; Diod. xii. 78.
3	418-417	Antiphon	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 318; ii. 972; iv (1). 53 a (p. 66); Diod. xii. 80.
4	417-416	Euphemos	Diod. xii. 81; Athen. v. 216 F, 217 A. B.
91. 1	416-415	Arimnestos	Isaios vi. 14; Arg. ii. Ar. <i>Av.</i> ; Hesych. 'Ερμολογία. 'Αριστόμνηστος Diod. xii. 82.
2	415-414	Charias	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 1250 add. Χαβρίας Philoch. fr. 111 (Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 766); Diod. xiii. 2; Arg. i, ii. Ar. <i>Av.</i> ; Schol. Ar. <i>Av.</i> 997; <i>Plut.</i> 179.
3	414-413	Teisandros	No. 88. Τείσανδρος Pherek. fr. 20 (Marcell. <i>vit. Thuc.</i> § 2). Πείσανδρος, Πείσανδρος Diod. xiii. 7.
4	413-412	Kleokritos	Diod. xiii. 9; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Lys.</i> 835 E; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Lys.</i>
92. 1	412-411	Kallias Σκαμβωνίδης	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 2544 b; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 32; Philoch. fr. 116 (Schol. Ar. <i>Lys.</i> 173); Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 1; Diod. xiii. 34; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Lys.</i> 835 E
2	411-410	Mnasilochos (διμνηνον) Theopompos	Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 33; cp. <i>C. I. A.</i> iv (1). 179 (p. 162). Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 33; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 1; Philoch. fr. 117 (Schol. Eur. <i>Or.</i> 371); Diod. xiii. 38; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Antiph.</i> 833 D.
3	410-409	Glaukippos	Nos. 74, 75, 76; <i>C. I. A.</i> i. 58, 188; ii. 128; <i>Lys.</i> xxi. 1; Philoch. fr. 119 (Schol. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 972); Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 21; Diod. xii. 43; Arg. Soph. <i>Phil.</i>

<i>Ol.</i>	<i>B.C.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
92. 4	409-408	Diokles	No. 78; <i>C. I. A.</i> i. 322; Lys. xxi. 2; Philoch. fr. 117 (Schol. Eur. <i>Or.</i> 371); Diod. xiii. 54; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Decr.</i> 851 E; Schol. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 179.
93. 1	408-407	Euktemon	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 62, 338; iv (1). 62 b (p. 166); Marm. Par. 62; Xen. <i>Hellen.</i> i. 2. 1; Diod. xiii. 68.
2	407-406	Antigenes	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 63; ii. 649; Marm. Par. 63; Xen. <i>Hellen.</i> i. 3. 1; Philoch. fr. 120 (Schol. Ar. <i>Ran.</i> 720); Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vii. 1; Diod. xiii. 76; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Ran.</i> ; Schol. Ar. <i>Ran.</i> 33, 694, 1422.
3	406-405	Kallias 'Ιππονίκου 'Αγγεληθεν	<i>C. I. A.</i> i. 140; Marm. Par. 64; Xen. <i>Hellen.</i> i. 6. 1; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 34; fr. 272 (Schol. Ar. <i>Ran.</i> 404); Philoch. fr. 116 (Schol. Ar. <i>Lys.</i> 173); Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> vii. 1; Diod. xiii. 80; Athen. v. 218 A; Arg. i. Ar. <i>Ran.</i> ; Schol. Ar. <i>Ran.</i> 694, 725.
4	405-404	Alexias	No. 81; Xen. <i>Hellen.</i> ii. 1. 10; Lys. xxi. 3; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 34; Diod. xiii. 104.
94. 1	404-403	Pythodoros	Xen. <i>Hellen.</i> ii. 3. 1; Lys. vii. 9; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 41. 'Αναρχία Diod. xiv. 3.
2	403-402	Eukleides	No. 81; <i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 642 b; Andok. <i>de Myst.</i> 89 f.; Lys. xxi. 4; Isai. vi. 47; viii. 43; Dem. xxiv. 42 cum Schol. (Dind. vol. ix. p. 749), 133 f.; Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. 39; Andron fr. 7 (Phot. and Suid. Συμίων ὁ δῆμος); Diod. xiv. 12; Plut. <i>Arist.</i> 1, &c., &c.
3	402-401	Mikon	Marm. Par. 65; Arg. i, ii. Soph. <i>Oed. Col.</i> Μικίων Diod. xiv. 17.
4	401-400	Xenainetos	Lys. xvii. 3; Diog. La. ii. 55. 'Εξαίματος Diod. xiv. 19.
95. 1	400-399	Laches	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 645; iv (2). 5 b; Marm. Par. 66; Diod. xiv. 35; Aristeid. xlv. pp. 474, 475; Arg. Isokr. xi.
2	399-398	Aristokrates	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 1 c; iv (2). 645 b, 653; Marm. Par. 67; Diod. xiv. 38.
3	398-397	Euthykses	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 653. 'Ιθυκλῆς Diod. xiv. 44.
4	397-396	Suniades	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 652; Lys. vii. 11. Δυσιάδης Diod. xiv. 47.
96. 1	396-395	Phormion	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 655, 841 b; iv (2). 767 c (p. 300); Diod. xiv. 54.
2	395-394	Diophantos	No. 90; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xiv. 82; Paus. viii. 45. 4.
3	394-393	Eubulides 'Ελευσίνιος	Nos. 86, 88, 90, 91; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 667, 830; iv. 25 (p. 11); Diod. xiv. 85; Aristeid. xlv. p. 475. Εὐβούλος Lys. xix. 28.
4	393-392	Demostratos	Diod. xiv. 90.
97. 1	392-391	Philokles	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 830 d; Diod. xiv. 94. Διοκλῆς Schol. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 179.

Ol.	B. C.	Name.	Authorities.
97. 2	391-390	Nikoteles	<i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1097; Diod. xiv. 97.
3	390-389	Demostratos ἐκ Κεραμέων	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 813 b; Diod. xiv. 99.
4	389-388	Antipatros	<i>C. I. A.</i> iv (2). 813 b; Diod. xiv. 103; Arg. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> iv; Schol. Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 173.
98. 1	388-387	Pyrgion	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 13; Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> i. 74. Πυργίων Diod. xiv. 107.
2	387-386	Theodotos	No. 96; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 14, 14 b, 971; Diod. xiv. 110.
3	386-385	Mystichides	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 554 b (p. 421); iv (2). 14 c; Diod. xv. 2.
4	385-384	Dexitheos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 667; iv (2). 14 d; Diod. xv. 8; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Demosth.</i> 845 D.
99. 1	384-383	Dieitrephe	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 667, 1234. Διοτρίφης Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5; Diod. xv. 14.
2	383-382	Phanostratos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 994; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Diod. xv. 15.
3	382-381	Euandros	Dem. xxiv. 138; Diod. xv. 20 (v. l. Μένανδρος).
4	381-380	Demophilos	Diod. xv. 22.
100. 1	380-379	Pytheas	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 545; Marm. Par. 69; Diod. xv. 23.
2	379-378	Nikon	Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xv. 24.
3	378-377	Nausinikos	Nos. 101, 102; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 17 b, 678, 803, 867; Dem. xxii. 44 cum Schol. (Dind. vol. ix. p. 695); [Dem.] lix. 65; Philoch. fr. 126 (Harpokr., Suid., Etym. Magn.; Συμμορία, v. l. Ναυσικός); Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xv. 25.
4	377-376	Kalleas (Kallias) Ἀγγεληθεύ	Καλλέας: No. 104; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 74, 671; Marm. Par. 70. Καλλίας: <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 21, 22; Diod. xv. 28.
101. 1	376-375	Charisandros	No. 104; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 555; <i>Inscr. Gr.</i> <i>Sic. It.</i> 1098. Χαρίανδρος Diod. xv. 36.
2	375-374	Hippodamas	Nos. 104, 105; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803, 1235; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098. Ἱππόδαμος Diod. xv. 38.
3	374-373	Sokratides	No. 104; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803; [Dem.] xlix. 6, 44; lix. 33; Diod. xv. 41; Suid. Φιλόχορος.
4	373-372	Asteios	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803; iv (2). 50 b; <i>Bull. Corr.</i> <i>Hellén.</i> xii. 177; Marm. Par. 71; [Dem.] xlix. 22, 60, 62; lix. 35, 36; Aristot. <i>Meteor.</i> i. 6. 10; Paus. vii. 25. 4; Diod. xv. 48.
102. 1	372-371	Alkisthenes	[Dem.] xlix. 30, 59, 60, 62; Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xv. 50.
2	371-370	Phrasikleides	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803; Marm. Par. 72; [Dem.] lix. 37; Diod. xv. 51; Paus. vi. 5. 3; viii. 27. 8.
3	370-369	Dysniketos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698 ([Δυσνίκητος]); [Dem.] xlvii. 13; Diod. xv. 57 a (v. l. Δυσκίνητος, cp. Paus. iv. 27. 9).

Ol.	B. C.	Name.	Authorities.
102. 4	369-368	Lysistratos	Nos. 108, 109; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 51, 799, 803; Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge</i> <sup>2</sup> , 88 (Michel, <i>Recueil</i> , 91); Diod. xv. 61; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Isocr.</i> , 839 D.
103. 1	368-367	Nausigenes	No. 113; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 52 b, 571, 677, 684, 803; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Marm. Par. 74; Diod. xv. 71.
2	367-366	Polyzelos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 677, 682, 803; Panath. amphora, <i>B. M. Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B. 603; Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5; Dem. xxx. 15; Diod. xv. 75.
3	366-365	Kephisodoros	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 53, 682 b; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Marm. Par. 75; Dem. xxx. 17; Dion. Hal. <i>Isae.</i> 5; Diod. xv. 76. <i>Κηφισόδωρος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Isae.</i> 7.
4	365-364	Chion	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 682, 1236; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Dem. xxx. 17; Diod. xv. 77.
104. 1	364-363	Timokrates	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 1237; <i>Bull. Corr. Hellén.</i> x. 461 (Michel, <i>Recueil</i> , 815); Dem. xxx. 15, 17; Diod. xv. 78; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Demosth.</i> 844 C, 845 E; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34.
2	363-362	Charikleides	Nos. 116, 117, 118; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 682 c. 698, 803; Dem. xxi. 178; Diod. xv. 82; [Plut.] <i>X Or.</i> , <i>Demosth.</i> 845 E.
3	362-361	Molon	No. 119; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 56, 57, 61; Dem. l. 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 13; Diod. xv. 90.
4	361-360	Nikophemos	No. 123; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 793, 799, 1523; [Dem.] xlv. 13; Aischin. i. 109; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 4, 9, 13; Diod. xv. 95; Schol. Aischin. i. 109 confounds the archons of 483-482 and 361-360.
105. 1	360-359	Kallimedes	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 793, 803, 868; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 2; Schol. Aischin. ii. 34 ( <i>v. l. Καλαμίωνος, Καλαμῖνος</i> ). <i>Καλλιδημίδης</i> Diog. La. ii. 56.
2	359-358	Eucharistos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 793, 803; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 4.
3	358-357	Kephisodotos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 793; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 8; Diod. xvi. 6.
4	357-356	Agathokles	Nos. 128, 130; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Marm. Par. 76; Dem. xlvii. 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Lys.</i> 12; Diod. xvi. 9; Paus. x. 2. 2.
106. 1	356-355	Elpines	Nos. 131, 132; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 66 c, 682 c, 803; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 15. <i>Ἐλπινίκης</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i> 12.
2	355-354	Kallistratos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 70, 795; Marm. Par. 77; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4; Diod. xvi. 23.
3	354-353	Diotimos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 71, 795, 972; iv (2). 1054 d; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4; Diod. xvi. 28.



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106. 4	353-352	Thudemos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 72, 795; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4 (v. l. <i>Εὐδημος</i> ). <i>Εὐδημος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 32.
107. 1	352-351	Aristodemos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758, 1238; iv. (2). 104 a; Panath. amphora, <i>Class. Rev.</i> xiv. p. 474; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4; Diod. xvi. 37.
2	351-350	Theëllos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758, 1174; Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 4. <i>Θεῖλλος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 11. <i>Θεσσαλός</i> Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (i.) 11; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 40.
3	350-349	Apollodoros	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 698, 758; iv. (2). 700 b; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1098; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 11; Diod. xvi. 46.
4	349-348	Kallimachos <i>Περγασῆθεν</i>	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 108, 698, 754; iv. (2). 107 b; Philoch. fr. 132 (Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 9, 10); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (i.) 12; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 52; [Plut.] <i>X Or. Demosth.</i> 845 D; Athen. v. 217 B.
108. 1	348-347	Theophilos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 700, 754, 755, 803, 871; Dem. xxxvii. 6; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 92 (Diog. La. v. 9); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (i.) 19; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 11; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5, 10; Diod. xvi. 53; Paus. x. 3. 1; Athen. v. 217 B. <i>Θεόμνητος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9. <i>Θούμνηδος</i> , <i>ibid.</i> 12.
2	347-346	Themistokles	Nos. 114, 139, 140; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 270, 700, 754; Panath. amphora, <i>Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1877, p. 310; Aischin. iii. 62; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (i.) 19; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 11; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10, 11; Diod. xvi. 56.
3	346-345	Archias	No. 114; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 701, 714, 754, 756, 1055, 1229; iv. (2). 110 c; Androt. and Philoch. fr. 133 (Harpokr. <i>Διαψήφισις</i> ); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (i.) 20; Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; <i>Din.</i> 9 (v. l. <i>Ἀρχιδας</i> ), 11; Diod. xvi. 59.
4	345-344	Eubulos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 701, 754, 756, 803, 1055; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 92 (Diog. La. v. 9); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (i.) 20; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 11, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5, 10; Diod. xvi. 66. <i>Εὐδωπος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9.
109. 1	344-343	Lykiskos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 113, 803, 1180, 1240, 1241, 1341; [Dem.] lviii. 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 11; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; Diod. xvi. 69.
2	343-342	Pythodotos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 114, 702, 721, 758, 803; Dem. xlviii. 26; Philoch. fr. 134

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			(Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 13); Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 92 (Diog. La. v. 9); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5, 10; Diod. xvi. 70.
109. 3	342-341	Sosigenēs	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 803, 1326; <i>Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.</i> 1184; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 95 (Diog. La. x. 13); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 4; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; Diod. xvi. 72; [Plut.] <i>X Or. Isocr.</i> 839 D.
4	341-340	Nikomachos	No. 145; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 706, 808, 809, 872, 973; Aristot. <i>Meteor.</i> i. 7, 10; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 5; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9, 11, 13; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10, 11; Diod. xvi. 74.
110. 1	340-339	Theophrastos 'Αλαϊεύς	No. 146; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 120, 766, 973; Aischin. iii. 115; Philoch. fr. 135 (Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 11); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 21; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 10; Diod. xvi. 77.
2	339-338	Lysimachides	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 708, 715, 766, 1214; Philoch. fr. 135 (Dion. Hal. <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 11); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 22; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 82; Diog. La. iv. 14.
3	338-337	Chairondas	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 122, 741 (add.), 757, 758, 766; Aischin. iii. 27; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 22; Plut. <i>Demosth.</i> 24; [Plut.] <i>X Or. Isocr.</i> 837 E; <i>Lyc.</i> 842 F; Anon. <i>Vit. Isocr.</i> (Westerm. p. 258. <i>Χαῖρωνδας</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Isocr.</i> i. <i>Χαῖρωνδας</i> Diod. xvi. 84.
4	337-336	Phrynichos	Nos. 152, 153; <i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 125, 126, 757, 758, 804, 1182; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (ii.) 22; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvi. 89.
111. 1	336-335	Pythodelos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758, 804, 808; Panath. amphorae, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 607, 608; Marm. Par. 2; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 19. <i>Πυθόδημος</i> Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 4, 9; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> i. 1. 1. <i>Πυθόδαρος</i> Diod. xvi. 91.
2	335-334	Euainetos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 804, 807, 808, 1242; Marm. Par. 3; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 19; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 5; Diod. xvii. 2.
3	334-333	Ktesikles	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 758; iv. (2). 563 b; Marm. Par. 5; Lys. ix. 6; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 20; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 17; [Plut.] <i>X Or., Lyc.</i> 844 A.
4	333-332	Nikokrates	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 168, 169, 227, 741, 1156; iv. (2). 169 b, 1571 b; <i>C. Inscr. Gr.</i>

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112. I	332-331	Niketes	<i>Sept.</i> i. 3499; Panath. amphora, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 609; Marm. Par. 5; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iii.) 20; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 29. Νικόσπαρος Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> ii. 11. 10. C. I. A. ii. 173, 1157, 1216; iv. (2). 767 b; 1571 b; C. <i>Inscr. Gr. Sept.</i> i. 4252, 4253; Panath. amphora, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 610; Marm. Par. 6; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9. Νικήπαρος Diod. xvii. 40. Ἀνικητος Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> ii. 24. 6. No. 160; C. I. A. ii. 807, 971; iv. (2). 834 b, 1571 b; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 49; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> iii. 7. 1; 15. 7.
2	331-330	Aristophanes	No. 161; C. I. A. ii. 177, 713, 807, 941; iv. (2). 179 b, 834 b; Marm. Par. 7; Theophr. <i>Char.</i> 7; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.), 29; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 12; Diod. xvii. 62; Plut. <i>Demosth.</i> 24; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> iii. 22. 2.
3	330-329	Aristophon	C. I. A. ii. 178, 807; iv. (2). 573 b (p. 298), 834 b; C. <i>Inscr. Gr. Sept.</i> i. 4254; Aristot. Ἀθ. Πολ. 54; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (iv.) 29; Diod. xvii. 74. Κησιφῶν Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9.
4	329-328	Kephisophon	C. I. A. ii. 809, 810, 1244; iv. (2). 179 b, 834 b; Panath. amphora, B. M. <i>Catal. Vases</i> , ii. B 611; Marm. Par. 8; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 17; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xvii. 82.
113. I	328-327	Euthykritos	C. I. A. ii. 748, 808, 811; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 18; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9. Ἡγεμῶν Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> v. 19. 3.
2	327-326	Hegêmon	C. I. A. ii. 579, 808, 809, 811; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 18; Diod. xvii. 87. Κρέμης Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9.
3	326-325	Chremes	C. I. A. ii. 179, 580, 808, 809, 811; iv. (2). 179 b; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; <i>Ep. i. ad Amm.</i> 12; Diod. xvii. 110.
4	325-324	Antikles	C. I. A. ii. 607, 609, 811, 1330; Panath. amphorae, <i>Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1887, p. 320 and <i>Bull. Corr. Hellén.</i> vi. p. 168; Marm. Par. 9; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 27; Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> vii. 28, 1. Ἀγησίας Diod. xvii. 113.
114. I	324-323	Hegesias	C. I. A. ii. 181, 183, 270, 811, 1245; iv. (2). 231 b; Panath. amphora, <i>Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1877, p. 322; Marm. Par. 10; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xviii. 2; Arrian, <i>Ind.</i> 21. 1. Κηφισοφῶν Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 27.
2	323-322	Kephisodoros	

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114. 3	322-321	Philokles	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 186, 188, 189, 719, 720, 722; Marm. Par. 11; Apollod. <i>Chron.</i> fr. 92 (Diog. La. v. 9); Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9; Diod. xviii. 26. Διοκλῆς Anon. περὶ κωμῳδίας iii. 81 (Dübner).
4	321-320	Archippos	<i>C. I. A.</i> ii. 722, 1059; iv. (2). 574 e; Panath. amphora, <i>Annali dell' Inst.</i> 1877, p. 323; Marm. Par. 13; Pap. Oxyrh. i. 12 (v.) 28; Dion. Hal. <i>Din.</i> 9.

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